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A CATALOGUE OF THE IKSHVAKU COINS IN THE ANDHRA PRADESH GOVERNMENT MUSEUM

By

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FOREWORD

The present catalogue on the *Ikṣvāku* coins is No. 5 in the revised Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series. The Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum has a rich hoard of coins representing all dynasties of Andhra Desa. It is the intention of the Department to bring out scientific catalogues of the coins of each dynasty. We brought out catalogues on the Punch-Marked coins, the *Śātavāhana* coins and the *Qutubshahi* coins last year, and this year we have brought out a catalogue on the *Vijayanagar* coins. The present publication on the *Ikṣvāku* coins is of the same series. Another catalogue on the Western *Kṣātrpa* coins, *Viṣṇukūṇḍin* coins and a special catalogue on the 8,000 Punch-Marked coins of *Amarāvati* will be published very shortly. Next year a catalogue of the Eastern *Chālukyan* dynasty, a catalogue of the coins of miscellaneous medieval dynasties like the *Yādavas*, *Hoysālas* etc. along with a catalogue of the coins of the *Bahmanis*, the *Moghals* and the *Asafjahis* will be brought out. With this, the coins of all dynasties of Andhra Pradesh would have been covered.

Dr. R. Subrahmanyam is a well-known scholar in archaeology and history, and needs no introduction. He was in charge of the extensive excavations at *Nāgārjunakōṇḍa* for four or five years which have brought to light very important and interesting facts about the *Ikṣvāku* kings. It is therefore quite fitting that he should have undertaken the task of writing the catalogue of the *Ikṣvāku* coins of the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum, Hyderabad.

Last year while casually camping at Ongole, I came upon this hoard of coins, with the Sub-Collector, and was able to retrieve it immediately. On examination it was found to be a hoard of the coins of the *Ikṣvākus*. This is the only hoard of the *Ikṣvākus* that we possess in the Government Archaeological Museum. But the hoard is quite representative and gives typological specimens of all the kings of the *Ikṣvākus*.

My deep and grateful thanks are due to Dr. R. Subrahmanyam for having undertaken this work in such a short time in spite of his numerous other multifarious duties.

My thanks are also due to J.P.L. Gwynn Esq. I.C.S., Secretary to Government, Education Department who has been consistently taking a keen interest in the publications of the Department of Archaeology and the Museum.

I must also express my thanks to Messers. N. C. S. Venkatachari and N.C.S. Parthasarathy Managing Partners of the Ajanta Printers, Hyderabad who have printed this book so neatly and nicely. They have printed quite a number of our other publications and the standard of their work is as high as ever.

Hyderabad-Dn. }
1-2-1962 }

N. Ramesan.

PREFACE

The exact names and denominations of ancient Indian coins and the standards followed by them are very difficult to ascertain. Literary tradition as contained in *Mamu* and *Yājñavalkya*¹ also supply us some interesting information about the weights and measures and tables of weight ratios for gold, silver and copper coinage. But considerable difficulty is experienced by scholars when they attempt to use this information to understand the problems connected with Indian Numismatics. It appears that in Ancient India, as in modern times, there was no uniformity in standard of weights followed in different districts but, underlying this diversity, certain broad principles on weights and measures were formulated which seem to have had universal application.² Inscriptions³ refer to coins issued by ruling kings at different periods and the rates of interest that accrued on sums of money invested in commercial undertakings, etc.

Further the coins discovered are of different types and have on them variety of symbols, the origins and significance of which are still shrouded in mystery. Rapson is of opinion that these devices were used as indications of locality, dynasty or personal likings of the sovereign who issued the coins⁴ while Father H. Heras saw in them the heraldry of ancient Indian ruling dynasties. These local varieties differ from each other by their type and the peculiarity of metal, fabric or form underlying all these varieties, there are certain devices like *Chaitra* and the *Ujjain* symbols, which occur on almost all types of coins, presumably because they were characteristic feature of the dynasty. This *Ujjain* symbol was so named by General A. Cunningham because of its frequent occurrence on the coins found at *Ujjain* in *Malwa*, a nomenclature which has become obsolete in the light of discoveries made in subsequent periods. This symbol consists of a cross, having each of its arms terminated by a ball or circle, the whole being usually surmounted by a crescent on *Nandipāda* symbol. The meaning of this symbol has been interpreted by different scholars in different ways. The explanation given by Sri C. Sivaramamurthy that the four stones represent the four oceans (*Chaturudadhi*) which engirdle the land over which the king who was issuing the coinage was supreme over-lord appears to be convincing.

The problem of study of south Indian coinage has received little attention until recent times. After Rapson and Smith few people have devoted themselves to the study of south Indian coins.

1. J.N.S.I., Vol. XVIII, Part II, p. 143 ff., Dr. V. S. Agrawala, 'Coin Data in the *Mahābhārata*', Ibid, Vol. XV, Part I, p. 27 ff., 'Ancient coins as known to *Pāṇini*,' J.N.S.I., Vol. XV, Part I, p. 1 ff., Dr. A.S. Altekar, 'Origin and Early History of Coinage in Ancient India'.

2. Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, Andhra Western *Kshātrapas*.

3. Senart, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p.78; *Ushavadata*; Nasik Cave Inscriptions, see also A.S.W.I., IV, p.99, pl.I ii 5.

4. Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins.

Though discoveries of numerous hoards of coins have been reported particularly from *Āndhra Dēśa* our knowledge of Andhra numismatics has been very imperfect. It is gratifying to note that a systematic study of the coins of early south Indian dynasties like *Śātavāhanas* has been done by Dr. M. Rama Rao and it is therefore in the fitness of things that we should take up the study of the coins of the successors of *Śātavāhanas* in *Āndhra*. Hence this venture.

Of the successors of *Śātavāhanas* who rose to power in coastal *Āndhra Dēśa*, the dynasty of *Ikṣvākus* with their capital at *Śrīparvata Vijayapuri* (present *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* in Guntur district) is very prominent. A study of the coinage of *Ikṣvāku* dynasty based on the Ongole hoard therefore forms the subject matter of this monograph.

During the excavations conducted at *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* by Messers. A. H. Longhurst, H. Quraishi and T. N. Ramachandran and others between 1926-47 some lead coins were found besides stray discoveries and surface finds by interested coin collectors. But no attempts were made by anybody to study and describe them systematically.

The coins of *Ikṣvākus* are all of lead and the symbols used by them are so simple and familiar that they present no complications in their study and interpretations. In view of the soft nature of the metal used for the currency, there is much wear and tear and naturally the coins under study present only incomplete legends and sometimes even obliterated or even mutilated devices. As political successors to the *Śātavāhanas*, in their dominions, the *Ikṣvākus* seem to have adopted and even appropriated the elephant symbol of their erstwhile overlords, while in the legend portions, though they were also matriarchal unlike the *Śātavāhanas*, they have dropped the matronomics and used only the proper name of the ruling king prefixed by the honorific *Śrī* or *Siri*. The *Ujjain* symbol consisting of four circles with or without central fillets, connected by a cross, usually met with in the *Śātavāhana* coins, is invariably seen on the reverse of these coins also.

In the following pages an attempt is made to study the coins, their symbols and legends, besides sketching a short history of *Ikṣvāku* dynasty mainly based on the coins under review and inscriptions discovered at *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* during the recent excavations conducted by the author. Detailed description of individual coins of different types, as well as a note on the nomenclature of ancient *Ikṣvāku* coins mentioned in Inscriptions is also added.

I am grateful to Sri N. Ramesan, M.A., I.A.S., Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh for giving me the opportunity to study them and for undertaking to publish the same under Andhra Pradesh Government Museum Series. I must also express my grateful thanks to Dr. B. B. Lal, of the Archaeological Survey of India for readily helping me in getting the coins cleaned and furnishing me with the technical report on these coins. Shri Bajpai, Technical Assistant of the Department of Archaeology and Shri K. S. Mani, Photographer for their help in preparing the plates, etc.

accepted as the earliest records of the *Pallavas*, though difference of opinion exists among the scholars with regard to their actual dating. Prof Dubreuil¹ assigns *Śivaskandavarman* of these records to A.D. 250-275 while Dr. D.C. Sircar² puts *Śivaskandavarman* in the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, there is the linguistic difference between the grants of *Śivaskandavarman* and the records of the *Ikṣvākus*, like the *Śatavāhana* grants and early *Prākṛit* inscriptions of *Ikṣvāku* records (excepting the record of the last known king, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 62) express compound consonants by single letters. The *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadaga!!!* grants of *Śivaskandavarman* on the other hand express them in many cases by two letters. Though the grants of *Śivaskandavarman* are in *Prākṛit*, the legend on the seals of both the grants are written in *Sanskrit*. The *Hirahadaga!!!* grant moreover ends in a *Mangala* which is also written in *Sanskrit*. This linguistic difference clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the reign of the former and that of the latter. Consequently *Śivaskandavarman* could not have ruled much earlier than the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

The introduction of *Sanskrit* as state language in south of India can now be precisely dated with reference to the records of the *Ikṣvāku* king *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* discovered at *Nāgarjunakonda*. The records of *Ehavala* dated in his 2nd year are in *Prākṛit* whereas those from 11th year are found in *Sanskrit*. Naturally it is to be inferred that *Sanskrit* replaced *Prākṛit* as a state language during this period i.e. sometime between 272 and 281 A.D. We find expression of compound consonants in double letters both in the records of *Chāmtamūla* - II and his son *Rudrapuriṣadatta*. The records further show prominent *Prākṛit* influence though instances of highly developed literary *Sanskrit* verses were also not wanting. In view of these above facts, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Sircar's contention that the rise of the *Pallavas* to power should be dated sometime early in the 4th century A.D.

Pallava armies under *Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman* marched against *Rudrapuriṣadatta*. The latter proved no equal match to the *Pallava* conqueror. *Ikṣvāku* territories were overrun and annexed to the kingdom of the *Pallavas*. Perhaps signifying this incident, *Mayidavōlu* charter was issued by the victorious *Pallava* prince. *Rudrapuriṣadatta* however maintained a semblance of power sometime more as the provenance of the coins under review would indicate.

The final extinction of *Ikṣvāku* power from *Śrīparvata* and *Vijayapuri* is again shrouded in obscurity. In this connection the *Talagonda*³ inscription of the *Kadamba* rulers seems to throw some light on the issue. According to this record, *Mayūraśarman* was prosecuting his *Vedic* studies at *Kāncīpura* when he was drawn into a quarrel with *Pallavas* (*Āśvasamasthāna kalahēna*) which Keilhorn thinks was in connection with the *Āśvamēdha* sacrifice, and was ill-treated. *Mayūraśarman*, whose pride was wounded by the treatment meted out to him and along with him to the *Brāhmaṇa* community took a vow to avenge this insult. He "unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world", defeated the frontier guards of the *Pallava* kings (*antahplān Pallav=ēndrānān*) and established himself at *Śrīparvata*. His power gradually increased and *Pallava* king of *Kāncī* was compelled not only to recognize his position as a ruler but also to take him into his service and honour him with *Pattabandha-sampuja*.

1. Ancient History of Deccan, p. 55 ff.

2. Successors of *Śatavāhanas*, p. 174 ff.

3. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VIII, 200 ff.

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ONGOLE TREASURE TROVE

DISCOVERY AND DESCRIPTION

A treasure-trove consisting of lead coins with 21 pieces of pottery, perhaps belonging to the container in which these coins were stored, was received in the office of the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, on 31st August, 1960. No details about the find-spot or the circumstances leading to the discovery of the treasure-trove, however, were furnished by the Revenue Officials who forwarded this parcel to the Director of Archaeology. It is however known that this treasure-trove was found in some village in *Ongole* Taluk of the Guntur district though the exact name of the village or the person by whom this was discovered could not be ascertained by the Sub-Collector, *Ongole*. They have been forwarded to me by the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, for preparation of descriptive Catalogue of the coins. The treasure-trove contains 277 coins, of which three were received by me in a damaged condition. These broken coins are not being illustrated in the catalogue. The rest of the coins were got cleaned in the laboratory of the Archaeological Chemist at Dehra Dun. After cleaning, it was noticed that of the 274 coins, 111 contained legends of the kings who issued these coins in a fairly legible condition, 42 have the legends but the readings are doubtful, while the rest 121 are illegible.

Generally speaking, the condition of preservation of these coins can be said to be fair. No coin containing the full legend has been however met with. The shapes of the coins also are not regular. This variation in shapes may perhaps be due to wear and tear of the coins while in circulation. These coins should have been originally circular with a diameter of more than half an inch. In their worn-out condition at present, the coins have a diameter of .6". Their weight is also not uniform. The following table shows at a glance the size and the weight of coins of each type :

A CATALOGUE OF IKṢVĀKU COINS

Type	Size	Weight	No. of coins	Max. - min. wts. in grains
Type I	.6" } .7" }	50—40	12	50—40 grains
Type II	.6" } .7" }	90—80 1 } 80—70 nil } 70—60 3 } 60—50 12 } 50—40 29 } 40—30 19 }	64	96—30 grains
Type III	.6" } .7" }	70—60 2 } 60—50 9 } 50—40 11 } 40—30 7 }	29	62—30 grains
Type IV	.6" } .7" }	60—50 1 } 50—40 4 } 40—30 1 }	6	50—33 grains
Doubtful	.6" } .7" }	70—60 3 } 60—50 6 } 50—40 19 } 40—30 12 } 30—20 2 }	42	68—23 grains

From the above table it is clear that the average size of the coin was .65" in diameter and the normal weight was about 50 grains. Occurrence of coins weighing more are stray and can be classified as abnormal varieties.

These are all invariably cast coins the original moulds for which were perhaps of terracotta.¹ By and large all these lead coins are crude, devoid of all beauty and artistic merit and as remarked by Dr. V. A. Smith they are "interesting primarily as a document of dynastic history".²

A remarkable feature of them is that they show many variations in their design particularly in the script and the form of the elephant on the obverse. The reverse is most commonly used for the so-called "Ujjain Symbol" quite familiar to us from the punch-marked coins and other coinages of northern India. This symbol consisting of four circles with or without central pellet connected by a cross is generally seen on these coins without the surmounted *Nandipāda*. Some times due to the varying positions of the marks on the mould in which these are cast, the symbol is not shown complete and instances of overlapping, perhaps due to bad or careless casting are also not wanting (see coin No. 139).

1. A circular terracotta coin mould was discovered at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* containing the symbols of *Chaitya* with arches, besides a slit opening along the margin for the excess metal to escape. The end of the circle was slightly raised into rim so that the coin letter out of this mould could be a neat Circle.

2. Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford, p. 209.

The symbol of elephant on the obverse is crude and disproportionate; shows considerable variety of pose—standing, walking, or advancing with the trunk uplifted or lowered, generally facing right. The entire body of the elephant is very rarely shown within the circle while the head with the uplifted trunk is usually seen placed near the margin as if the elephant has just entered the circle of the coin (see No. 60–61). Care was also not taken in coupling the obverse and reverse moulds so much so the representation of the devices are not in any specific fixed orientation.

It is curious to notice that the *Ikṣvākus* during whose regime plastic art in Andhra had reached the acme of perfection, did not bestow any care in designing and minting of their coinage. The sculpture of *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* with its varied representation of human and animal figures is superb, and the sculptors exhibit their remarkable study of human and animal anatomy. Against this background it is rather difficult to explain the crude, unrealistic and disproportionate representation of the elephant on the coinage of *Ikṣvākus*.¹

Besides the elephant there is a single coin perhaps belonging to *Śrī Chāmtamūla*, with symbol of a horse standing. The legend is very hazy but with some difficulty it can be read. Though it is too much to postulate any theory on the basis of a solitary coin, it may not be unreasonable to surmise that *Chāmtamūla* also, emulating the practice of the contemporary monarchs of the period, issued special coinage with horse representation, viz., *Aśvamēdha* type symbolising his victories and establishment of a prosperous kingdom and performance of an *Aśvamēdha*² sacrifice. This finds corroboration in the epigraphical records of the reign of *Śrīvīrapuriṣadatta* from *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, where in *Chāmtamūla* his father is invariably referred to as an *Aśvamēdhayajin*. The paucity of this type of coins however needs a satisfactory explanation. Can it be that these were minted and issued for the occasion to symbolize the function?

The legend containing the name of the king who issued the coinage appears to have been engraved along the rim of the coin immediately above the elephant symbol, starting from the tail portion and running round. Unfortunately the inscription is preserved only in part, i.e. the section above the elephant symbol. No traces of any legend are to be seen in the portion below or in front of the elephant on the coin.

Naturally the legends on these coins are fragmentary and incomplete but from the available letters it is not difficult to reconstruct the complete legend. The script used is *Brāhmi* of the period. It is interesting to note in this connection that exigencies of space have affected the form of some of the letters and this perhaps explains the variations in the script. The Palaeographical chart (printed elsewhere) will give at a glance the forms of different letters found on the coins as well as the script of the period, noticed on the stone inscriptions from *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. A comparison of these will reveal that the execution of the legend portions on the coins is also not artistic and devoid of all ornamental flourishes for which the *Brāhmi* script of *Ikṣvākus* is famous.

1. The *Ikṣvākus* seem to have appropriated the elephant symbol of the *Śātavāhanas*, their overlords. The elephant symbol on the coinage of *Chāmtamūla-I* who founded the dynasty bear close resemblance to that of *Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi*: Rapson, Pl. VII No. 164 and 183; while the elephant representation on the coins of *Ehavula* which is perhaps the best in this hoard compare very well with that of the potin coins of *Pulamāvi* from Central India and *Śātakarṇi* from *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*.

2. Epigraphia Indica Vol. XX, p. 19 ff.

The fragmentary nature of the letters of the legend leaves little scope for any comments on the morphology of *Brāhmi* characters of this period. However, I may make pointed reference to the following features.

The letters are sometimes fine and clear, while in a majority of cases they are blunt and illegible. The 'Mātra' strokes, are not straight but slanting or sloping (see coin No. 54), the bottom loop or bend on the letter 'ra' is sometimes turned towards right while the 'ha' in the name of *Ehāvula* has been given a 'U' Mātra in coin (No. 98), thereby rendering it possible to read the name of the king as *Ehavaḷa*. Coin No. 75 and 78 betray typical *Ikṣvāku* period script while No. 48 of *Virapuriṣadatta* appears to be a case of forgery.

The letters are not generally written in a line. The letter 'ha' in the coins of *Ehavaḷa Chāmtamūla* is invariably engraved above the head of the elephant.

The coins supply us the following legends. *Chāta*, *Chāmta Śiri Chāta*, (*Śiri Chāmtamūla*), *Śrivira*, or *Vīrapu* (*Śiri Vīrapuriṣadatta*), *Śiri Eha*, or *Śiri Ehu* (*Śiri Ehavaḷa Chāmtamūla*), *Śiri Ruda* (*Siri Rudapuriṣadatta*). These names pertain to the members of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty that ruled at *Śrīparvata - Vijayapuri* (modern *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*) and known to us from their numerous epigraphs discovered in Andhra-desa.¹

1. Numerous inscriptions both in *Prākṛit* and *Sanskrit* discovered at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* and *Uppugundur* in Guntur District, *Jaggayyapetta*, *Alluru* and *Rami Reddipalli*, in the *Nundigama* Taluka of Krishna District refer to the family of *Ikṣvākus* and their achievements. The founder of the dynasty was one *Chāmtamūla* who has been described as *Mahārāja* and a performer of numerous vedic sacrifices including *Asvamēdha*, claiming descent from the ancient *Ikṣvāku* family of *Ayōdhyā*, and Lord Buddha of *Śākya Vamsa*. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, and Vol. XXI, p. 61 ff; and Burges, *Amrāvati* and *Jaggayyapetta*.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGY

Though a historical survey of *Ikṣvākus* is beyond the scope of this work, in order to understand the chronology of the coins, an attempt is made to sketch the political history of this dynasty in the following pages.

In the vast empire of the *Śatavāhanas*, they seem to have established a number of ruling families, subordinate to them, to administer various provinces. *Purāṇas*, particularly *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* mention in unequivocal terms about this fact—“*Āndhrāṇām Sāṁsthitāḥ pañcha tēṣāṁ varṁśāḥ samāḥ punah*”¹ - “*Āndhrāṇām saṁsthitāḥ pañca tēṣāṁ varṁśyāśca ye punah*”.² Though there is diversity of opinion between the authors of these *purāṇas* regarding the number of such families established, *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Bhāgavata purāṇas*, however, indicate clearly that these were *Bhṛityas* or subordinates - “*Āndhrāṇām saṁsthitē rājye tēṣāṁ bhṛity-ānvayā-nṛpāḥ*” “*Saptaivāndharā bhaviṣyanti daś=Abhīras=tathā nṛpāḥ*,”³ etc. It is curious in this connection to notice that the *Matsya*, which is perhaps an earlier compilation supplies us details about a new dynasty - “*Āndhrāḥ Śrīparvatī-yaśca tē dvē pañcāśatam samāḥ*”⁴ and these *Śrīparvatīya Andhras* appear to be identical with the *Ikṣvākus* who ruled from *Śrīparvata Vijayapuri* in the early third century A.D.

It is difficult to fix precisely the date of decline of *Śatavāhana* power. It was a gradual process. The successors of *Yajña Śātakarni* were weak and perhaps during their rule the dynasties that were originally installed by the Imperial power assumed independence. The *purāṇas* mention that *Yajña Śātakarni* was followed by *Vijaya* (C. 203-09) *Chandraśri* (C. 209-19) and *Puloma* (C. 219-27) while coins discovered in coastal *Āndhra* reveal the name of another ruler - *Rudra Śātakarni*⁵ who is not mentioned in the puranic lists. Dr. Rama Rao thinks that *Chāṁtāmūla* the founder of the *Ikṣvāku* dynasty of *Vijayapuri* dispossessed *Rudra Śātakarni* of his dominions in coastal *Āndhra* and *Telingana* and started his independent principality.⁶ This should have taken place before the middle of the third century. A.D.

The *Ikṣvāku* as the name would suggest is the name of a prince and occurs in *Rigveda* and *Jaimintya Brāhmaṇa*. He is described as a great hero in *Atharva Vēda* and MacDonold and Keith consider the *Ikṣvāku* as a branch of *Puru* family. Later *Ikṣvākus* are however connected chiefly with *Ayōdhya*, the capital of *Kōśala Janapada*. Both *Rāmāyaṇa* and other *Purāṇas* give a long list of kings of *Ayōdhya*, but how far the *Ikṣvākus* of *Nāgārjunakonda* and *Jaggayyapēta* were connected with the *Ikṣvākus* of

1. *Vāyu*, Bibliotheca Indica, Edn. Vol. II, p. 453, Chapter 37, Verse 352.

2. *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Śrī Venkaṭēswara*, Edition (Bombay), p. 186, Chapter 74 ff. 171-178.

3. *Matsya Purāṇa*, p. 1160, 271-17-18.

4. Pargiter, *Dynastic Lists of Kali Age*, p. 46, Verse 32.

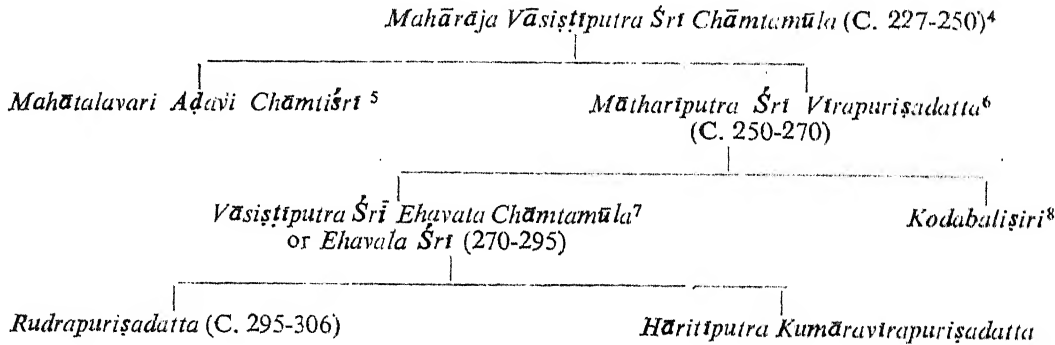
5. Select *Śatavāhana* Coins, Dr. M. Rama Rao, pl. 16, Nos. 314-317.

6. *Ibid*, p. 27.

'Kōsala Janapada', is a matter which is difficult to determine at this stage. One of the inscriptions of *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* supplies us the epithet "*Ikhāku-Rāja-Pravara-Riṣi-Śata-Prabhavavarṇsa-Sambhava*" applied to Lord Buddha and since the record is dated in the reign of *Virapuriṣadatta*, the second of the *Ikṣvāku* kings of *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*, we have to infer that *Virapuriṣadatta* was also claiming descent from Buddha, whom tradition affirms to be of *Ikṣvāku*.¹

The Sanskrit word '*Ikṣvāku*' means a gourd. There is a belief among Austro-Asiatic people who styled themselves as sharers of gourd and melon.² This tradition slowly got infiltrated into Indian tradition since we find *Suntti*, Queen of *Ayōdhya*, to whom 60,000 children were promised, gave birth to a gourd and from that came 60,000 children. Whatever may be the influence of these Austro-Asiatic myths on *Āryans* and their immigrations, it looks quite probable that the *Ikṣvākus* were originally an *Āryan* tribe who got into marital connections with aboriginal tribes of the country and in their march towards power, migrated to south and settled as vassals of *Śātavāhana* emperors.³

From the inscriptions discovered at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* the following genealogy of the *Ikṣvākus* can be fomulated.



1. *Majhima-Nikāya*, 122, 124.

2. D.C. Sircar, the Successors of *Śātavāhanas*, in *Lower Deccan* p. 10 ff.

3. *Bauddhāyana* who lived long before Christ, in his *Dharmasūtras*, speaks of *Mātula-pitṛusvasṛduhitṛgamana* as the established custom in the south and curiously *Virapuriṣadatta*, the *Ikṣvāku* prince of *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* married practically all his father's sisters' daughters.

4. *Chāmtamūla* had two uterine sisters (a) *Mahātālavari Chāmtiśrī* married to *Kandaśīrī* of *Pākiya* family whose offspring was married to *Virapuriṣadatta* (b) *Hamma Śīrtika*, whose daughter, *Bāpaśīrtika* married *Virapuriṣadatta* (see C-2 and C-4, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX p. 19 ff.)

5. This daughter of *Chāmtamūla* was given in marriage to *Kanda Viśākhannaka* of the *Dhanakas* (see Ins-B-2, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX p. 18).

6. *Śrī Virapuriṣadatta* had other wives too. *Mahādevī Batidevā* (G-2, G-3 *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI) and *Mahādevī Rudradhārābattarika* daughter of the *Mahārāja* of *Ujjain* (Ins. on the *Āyaka* pillar. B-5, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XX, p. 19).

7. *Mahādevī Koḍabaliśīrī* daughter of *Śrī Virapuriṣadatta* was given in marriage to the *Mahārāja* of *Vanavāsaka* (See Ins. H, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 24).

8. (a) *Ehavala* like his father also had many wives - *Mahādevī Śirivamma Battā* belonging to the *Bahaphalasa gōtra*, and daughter of a *Mahākshatrpa* through whom *Rudrapuriṣadatta* was born.

(b) *Kanduvāla* (*Pūrnaghata* Ins.)

(c) *Mahādevī Kupanāsī* of *Pushyakandīya* family through whom *Mahārāja Kumāra Hārītiputra Śrī Virapuriṣadatta* was born (*Indian Archaeology - A review*, 1956-57, pl. LVIII).

In this stock of establishment of their power, the first of the *Ikṣvākus*, *Chāmtamūla*, who appears to have been wielding some influence in the western and southern regions¹ of *Śātavāhana* dominions formed a confederacy of powerful *Sēnāpatīs*, entered into matrimonial alliances with at least two of them, and with their assistance and cooperation, overthrew the power of the last *Śātavāhana* king of *Dhānyakāṭaka*. *Chāmtamūla*'s uterine sister *Chāmtiśirī* had been given in marriage to a *Mahāsēnāpati* *Kamdāviśākarnaka* of the *Pākiya* family while *Adavi Chāmtiśirī* married a member of the *Dhanaka* family while the *Hiranyakas*, another group of powerful people hailing from *Hiranyarāṣṭra*, i.e. modern Cuddapah and Nellore regions, added their bit in establishing *Ikṣvāku* hegemony in *Śrīparvaat* area.

Purāṇas refer to *Śrīparvattya Āndhras* and *Śrīparvata*, if the epigraphical evidences² supplied by *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* are to be depended upon, is a small hillock, an offshoot of *Nallamalai* range located in *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* valley itself. The entire valley, with its numerous monasteries and *Ikṣvāku* rulers' buildings including forts, has been described in the inscriptions as '*Vijayapuri*', the capital city of the *Ikṣvākus*.

Chāmtamūla-I has been described in the records of his sons and grandsons as a very great and powerful monarch. His full title was *Mahārāja Vāsiṣṭiputra Ikṣvāku Chāmtamūla*, the performer of *Agnihōtra*, *Agniṣṭōma*, *Vajupēya*, *Āsvamēdha* sacrifices, and bestower of crores of gold and hundreds of thousands of cows (bulls) and ploughs ('*anēka-hiranna-kōṭi-gō-śatasahasā-hala-śatasahasapadāyī*'). He is said to be very resolute and a man who would achieve his object at any cost (*Apratihata-samkapasa*). He has been described as a great devotee of *Mahāsēna* or *Kārtikēya*, ('*Virūpākṣapati-Mahāsēna-parigāhita*'). Curiously no inscriptions of this monarch were found and references to *Chāmtamūla*'s achievements are to be known only in the records of his sons and his successors.

Since he has performed *Āsvamēdha*, he must have been a *Sārvabhauma*. The *Āpastamba Śrautśāstra* describes that only a *Sārvabhauma* king could perform this horse-sacrifice. A staunch Brahmanical Hindu that he was *Chāmtamūla* must have emulated *Gautamīputra Śātakarni* in the performance of these Vedic sacrifices not only to proclaim his prowess but also to establish for himself a higher social status. It is difficult to ascertain, at this distance of time the exact region conquered or people brought under his sway by *Chāmtamūla*. The occurrence of coins bearing the usual symbol of elephant with uplifted trunk not only in *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa*, but in places distant like *Nalgōṇḍa* and *Ongōle* lend credence for his *Sārvabhaumatva*. Since his son *Mathārīputra Śirī Virapurīṣadatta* is not credited with any victories and as the *Uppugundūr* inscription of *Vīrapurīṣadatta* suggests his sway over *Dhānyakāṭaka*, it has to be inferred that *Chāmtamūla* conquered *Dhānyakāṭaka*, the main seat of the *Śātavāhana* power in the east, though he did not locate his capital there. In this task he was helped by a number of *Sēnāpatīs* among whom *Mahāsēnāpati Kulahaka Chāmtamūla*, who has been described in one of the *Chāyā-Stambhu* inscriptions, discovered by the author, as a great warrior and a *Hastigrāhaka* was very prominent.

If the epithets attributed to him are not mere boasts, we may not be far from the truth if we presume that *Chāmtamūla* was not only a conqueror but also a good administrator. By bestowal of

1. Curiously the inscription discovered at *Nāgarjunakōṇḍa* in site 13 supplies us titles like *Svāmi Chāmtamūla* and *Svāmi Virapurīṣadatta* which bear close resemblances with the titles of the *Kṣātrapas* of the *Ujjain*. Do they indicate that the *Ikṣvāku Chāmtamūla-I* had any relationship - matrimonial or otherwise - with the *Kṣātrapas* of western and central India?

2. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX and XXI. See also *Indian Archaeology, A Review - 1958-59*.

thousands of cows and ploughs, he must have brought under cultivation vast areas of waste lands, thereby increasing the wealth of the country. *Chāmtamūla* appears to have had two children. His son *Mathāriputra Śrī Vṛapuriṣadatta* succeeded to the throne while his daughter *Mahātalavari Adavi Chāmtisīri* was given in marriage to *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādandanāyaka Khamdavisukhamnaka* of the *Dhanaka* family.

We have seen earlier that *Pulōma-IV*, the last *Śatavāhana* emperor who succeeded to the *Śatavāhana* power ruled at least upto 227 A.D. If this date is accepted, the *Ikṣvāku Chāmtamūla's* accession to power will have to be dated subsequent to 227 A.D. Since no inscription of this emperor has been found which could have helped us in determining the period of his rule or starting point of his reign, it is difficult to fix precisely the duration of his reign. However, on the basis of numerous achievements enumerated in the inscriptions of his son and successor *Mathāriputra Śrī Vṛapuriṣadatta*, we may not be wrong if we assign him a reign of at least a quarter of a century and tentatively we may assign the date between 227 - 250 as the period of his reign.

One of the inscriptions¹ dated in the 20th regnal year of *Mahārāja Mathāriputra Śrī Vṛapuriṣadatta* refers to the death of *Chāmtamūla (sagagatasa)* and the erection of a *Chāyā Stambha* (memorial pillar) by the sisters, mothers and consorts of late *Vasiṣṭiputra Swāmi Śrī Chāmtamūla*. The inscription supplies us a string of names—*I(Kha)kula (sānt) - Śirī - Chāmtamūlasa sahōdar(ā) him(ā)stāhi mah (ā) dēvihi Sunti-śirī ya? Khamdasirī (ya) Vijhāhavisirīya Mi (sa) Sirtya Samusirīya (Nā) ga-(va) susirīya (Na)gasirīya Khamdakōṭisirīya Mahasarasirīya Ratumatisirīya Mulasirīya Avakotusirīya Maduvisirīya (Nā)gasirīya (Ra)masirīya Golasirīya Velisirīya (E)dhisirīya Kha(m)dasirīya Satilisirīya Parajatisirīya Pandita sirīya Sivanagasirīya Samudasirīya Bapisirīya Nadisirīya Ayasirīya Ratusirīya Si(vanagā) sirīya subhatarikahi cha Sarasikaya Kusumalataya*".² Who was exactly the mother of *Chāmtamūla* or his queen in this long list of names to whom his son *Mathāriputra Vṛapuriṣadatta* was born, is difficult to ascertain.

However, this *Chāyā Stambha* (memorial pillar) is very interesting. The pillar itself contains five sculptured panels starting from the bottom and arranged upwards. The end of the pillars has been finished in a hemispherical shape. The first panel appears to portray *Chāmtamūla* in the typical *yājñamāna's* dress donating the gold coins (*Hiraṇyakōṭi*) and the next panel above, shows an elephant and a rider on the top advancing, followed by an army and the rider has a parasol held by an attendant sitting next to him perhaps signifying his march as an emperor. In the next panel above it, he is shown sitting very comfortably on a *paryāṅka* while damsels surround him giving the much needed pleasure. In the last one, the same person is shown sitting between two ladies in *Ardhaparyāṅkāsana* and this scene perhaps signifies the king's attainment of *Vṛasavarga*, where he enjoys unending and eternal bliss in the company of celestial nymphs. This sculptured panel with all its representations read with the contents of the inscription seems to suggest the glory that was enjoyed by *Chāmtamūla* as a monarch and then later on by virtue of the *Puṇya* or merits acquired by him through the performance of various *Vēdic* sacrifices (*Agniṣṭōma, Vājapēya, Aśvamedha Bahusuvārṇaika Yājñah Anēka Hiraṇya kōṭi)pradatuḥ*

1. Inscription 'L' of Additional *Prākṛit* Inscriptions from *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, p. 63 ff.

2. *Āyaka* Pillar Inscription G-2, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 62 ff.

I am unable to agree with Dr. D.C. Sircar, that *Vṛapuriṣadatta* was born to *Mathāri* since the matronomies attached to the name of the kings here appear to be the names not of the real mothers but of the *Gōtra* members. For instance, we know very clearly that *Ehavalā Chāmtamūla*, son of *Śrī Vṛapuriṣadatta* was born to *Mahādevī Bhāṭṭideva*. But he is described with the matronomical attribute '*Vasiṣṭiputasa*' in the inscription dated in the 2nd year of *Ehavalā Chāmtamūla* while his son *Kumāra Vṛapuriṣadatta*, son of *Mahādevī Kanduvula* had the matronomic *Haritiputra*.

Gośatasahasa Halaśatasahasa pradatuh Svavtryārjita Vijayakīrtih) merited a place in the *Vīrasvarga* befitting a valorous monarch.

The mention of *Chāmtamūla*'s death in the 20th year of *Vīrapuriṣadatta*'s reign is very intriguing. Does it mean that *Chāmtamūla* - I lived upto the 20th year of *Vīrapuriṣadatta* as an invalid, while *Vīrapuriṣadatta* himself ruled as an independent king during the life time of *Chāmtamūla*, his father, or is it a commemoration of the death anniversary of his illustrious father and founder of the dynasty of his family?

Chāmtamūla - I was succeeded by his son *Mathāriputra Śrī Vīrapuriṣadatta*. We have a number of inscriptions dated in the regnal years of this king found not only at *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa* but also at *Jaggayyapēta* and *Uppugundūr*. He is a great devotee of Buddha and invariably his records start with salutations to Lord Buddha. But curiously no inscription refers to his wars or victories. Naturally we have to infer that he succeeded to the vast kingdom carved out by his father and maintained it intact, though he did not add an inch of territory to it. This inactivity on the side of conquests which was perhaps inevitable due to the superior strength of the then neighbouring kingdoms, is more than compensated by his association in the benefactions to Buddhist institutions and erection of numerous Buddhist edifices which brought name and fame to *Vijayapuri*, his capital town as a centre of Buddhism and attracted Buddhists from all over the civilized world.

The inscriptions enumerate his benefactions as follows:

"In the sixth regnal year, *Mahā Chaitya* was renovated and at the foot of the *Mahā Chaitya* a *Mahā Vihāra* with a *Śaila Maṇḍapa*, a *vihāra* with a cloister of cells was constructed in his 15th regnal year and dedicated by *Chāmtiśiri*, the king's aunt and mother-in-law to the *Achāryas* of *Apamahāvinaśēliya* sect. In the 14th regnal year the *Chaitya Griha* or apsidal temple with a *Chaitya* and well-paved flooring slabs was constructed and dedicated by a lay *Upāsika*, *Bōdhiśiri* by name, at the *Chuladhammagiri Vihāra* on *Śrī parvata*. This inscription dated in the 14th regnal year registers the benefactions of this lay *Upāsika* and supplies us interesting information about the administration of Buddhist *Vihāras* and the officers incharge of them. In the 18th regnal year, another *Chaitya Griha* was built by *Chāmtiśiri* herself and dedicated for the use of *Achāryas* of the *Apamahāvinaśēliya* sect and the *Mahā Bhikku Sangha*. In the 19th regnal year of *Vīrapuriṣadatta*, we find a merchant hailing from *Dhānyakaṭaka* doing some benefactions to the Buddhist institutions at *Uppugundūr* while in the 20th year the same king was active erecting *Āyaka* pillars for the *Mahā Chaitya* on the hill '*Vēlagiri*' near modern *Jaggayyapēta*. *Vīrapuriṣadatta*'s reign was a period of great activity, particularly for Buddhists and Buddhist institutions.

One of the queens of *Vīrapuriṣadatta* was referred to in the *Mahā Chaitya* inscriptions at *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*, as hailing from *Ujjain*. She has been described as "*Ujjanika Mahārāja Bālīkā*". This passage has been corrected by Prof. Vogel as "*Ujjanika Mahārāja Balika*". He identified "*Ujjanika*" of this passage with *Ujjain*, the capital of *Chastana*. Her name is given as *Mahādēvi Rudradhāra Bhattārika*. She must have belonged to the *Mahākṣātrapa* family of *Ujjain* though her parentage is not specifically mentioned. It is possible to infer that she might be a daughter or sister of *Mahākṣātrapa Rudrasēna* who ruled in 250 - 274 A.D. It was in this period of *Vīrapuriṣadatta*, as has been suggested already, that contact with the neighbouring kingdoms increased. *Śakas* and *Scythians* freely came and settled at *Vijayapuri* accepting service under the *Ikṣvākus*. Some of them, who were Buddhists by profession seem to have left records of their benefactions to the Buddhist monasteries at *Vijayapuri*.

Like his father, he also followed the policy of keeping friendly relations with the neighbouring rulers by matrimonial alliances etc. His own daughter *Kodabaliśiri* was given in marriage to *Mahārāja* of *Vanavāsa*, i.e., *Banavāsi*, modern North Canara District of *Maharāstra*. *Vanavāsa* is known as the capital of the *Chutu Śatakarnis* and later on of the *Kadambas*. *Kadamba* rule seems to have started sometime in the 4th century A.D., as is evidenced by *Chandravalli Prakrit* inscription of *Mayūrasarman*. Since *Kadambas* were *brahmins*, it may have to be presumed that the *Mahārāja* to whom the *Ikṣvāku* princess was married was a *Chutu Śatakarni* though the name of the son-in-law of *Virapurisadatta* is nowhere mentioned. This seems to find corroboration in a later inscription found at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* where in a reference is made to a king of *Vanavāsa* named *Viṣṇurudra-śivalānanda Śatakarni*¹. Can it be that *Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Śatakarni*, the *Chutu Śatakarni* ruler of *Vanavāsa* mentioned in the new inscription discovered at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* was the son-in-law of *Virapurisadatta*?

Since *Virapurisadatta*'s last known year is his 20th regnal year, he must have ruled at least for 20 years, i.e., from 250 to 270 A.D.

Virapurisadatta was succeeded by his able son *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* born of *Mahādēvi Bhattidēya*, and is generally designated as *Chāmtamūla-II*. We have nine inscriptions of this king found at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. Like his father *Virapurisadatta*, he also gave some benefactions to the Buddhist *Vihāras*. In the second year, his mother caused the erection of the *Āyaka Kambhas* of the *Chaitya* and a *Vihāra* called *Dēvī Vihāra* and dedicated it for the use of the *Āchāryas* of *Bahuśrutīya* sect. In the 11th regnal year of the king, his sister *Kodabaliśiri* was associated with the construction of a *Vihāra* for the use of the *Āchāryas* of the *Mahīśāsaka* sect.

But *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* himself appears to be a great devotee of *Śiva*. In the 16th year, he caused the construction of a temple of *Śiva* named *Puṣpabhadrasvāmi*² and erected a *Dhavaḥastambha* besides endowing it with lands for its perpetual maintenance, while in another record dated in the 11th year his Commander-in-Chief was busy building a two storied pavilion for *Śiva* (*Sarvadēvādhivāsa*) in token of his gratitude to Lord *Kārtikēya* with whose grace the latter had achieved a grand victory ("Samaravijayinam Khyātakīrtiḥ"). Numerous other temples—those dedicated to *Durga*, *Navagrahas* and even *Yakṣas* discovered at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* have their origins in the reign of *Ehavala*.

Curiously some interesting information about *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* is available from another record³ engraved on a *Chāyā Stambha*. This inscription supplies us the pedigree of the *Ikṣvākus* upto *Rudrapurisadatta*, a son of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* through his queen (*Mahādēvi*) who is described as a daughter (*Duhita*) of a *Mahākṣātrapa* (*Mahākṣātrapa dhutuya*) belonging to *Bahaphalasagōtra*. Her name is given as *Śirtvammabhatta* (*Śirtvammabhataya*). This reference to matrimonial relationship with *Mahākṣātrapa* is very interesting and at this juncture it may not be out of place here if we try to trace the history of the *Mahākṣātrapas* of Western India and identify the *Mahākṣātrapa* whose daughter *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* married.

In the 2nd century B.C. the Indo-Greeks conquered *Kathiawar* and *Sind* and established themselves in parts of *Rajaputana*. In their onward march, the *Scythians* of East Iran found a fertile soil

1. See Indian Archaeology, A Review—1958-59.

2. Indian Archaeology, A Review-1956-57, Pls. LVIII and LVIX. He has been described as a *Dharma vijayin*, like *Sagara*, *Dilpa*, *Ambarīṣa*, *Udhīṣhira* of the famous *Ikṣvāku* family. Like *Rāma* of *Ayōdhya*, the hero, of *Rāmāyaṇa*, he has endeavoured to make himself endearing to all by his fine qualities.

3. *Chāyā Stambha* Inscriptions: Site No. XIII of 1955-56, See Indian Archaeology, A Review - 1955-56 Pls. XXXIX.

for their captial in lower *Sind* when perhaps they penetrated into eastern *Sind* and *Kathiawar*. They were considered as a power to be reckoned with in western India till their extirpation by *Chandragupta-II* of the *Gupta* dynasty. The first mention of *Scythian* rule in western India can be traced in the *Periplus* (c. A.D. 70 - 80) wherein the *Sind* valley is mentioned as the land of the *Scythians*. *Periplus* refers to a powerful king named *Māmburus* with his headquarters at *Minnagara*. To quote *Periplus*, "Beyond the gulf of *Baraka* (*Dvāraka*) is that of *Barygaza* (*Brōach*) and the coast of the country of *Ariaca* (*Ptolemy's Larike, i.e., Lata*) which is the beginning of the kingdom of *Māmburus* and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining *Scythia* is called *Abiria* (*Ābhira*) and the coast is called *Syrastrene* (*Saurashtra*)". But the reference of *Periplus* to the town of *Kalyan* being at first in the possession of elder 'Saraganus' (*Śātakarni*), and later in that of 'Sandares' when the port was obstructed and Greek ships were taken to *Barygaza* under guard, may point out to the *Scythian* occupation of the tracts to the north of *Konkan* about the middle of the 1st century A.D.¹

Some scholars identify this *Māmburus* with *Nāhapāna*, who is supposed to have ruled between 119-125 A.D., but this identification, however, appears to be untenable because by about the 1st century A.D., *Kaṇiṣka*, the *Kuṣāna* emperor made his power felt in central and western India, when the *Scythian* power under *Māmburus* was supplanted and the *Kṣaharāṭas* started ruling western India as *Kṣātrapas* under *Kaṇiṣka* and his successors. The first *Kṣātrapa* vassal of *Kaṇiṣka* was *Bhūmaka*.² His coins were found in the coastal regions of *Gujarat* and *Kathiawar* and in *Mālwa* and *Ajmir*. No further details about *Bhūmaka's* reign are available. However, this issue of coins by *Bhūmaka* in his own name seems to indicate that he was allowed a semi-independent status or alternatively it is possible to surmise that *Bhūmaka* made a bid for starting a principality of his own taking advantage of the feeble central government's hold over these out-lying provinces. *Bhūmaka* was succeeded by *Nāhapāna*, another member of the same family though their relationship is difficult to ascertain. *Nāhapāna* is known not only from his coins but also from his various inscriptions³ ranging in date between 41 - 46 of an era presumably *Śaka* Era. In his earlier records he was styled as *Kṣātrapa* while he bears the high-sounding title "*Mahākṣātrapa*" in the inscription dated in 46. He had the additional title *Rājān*, which is indicative of his higher political position than that of his predecessor *Bhūmaka*. *Nāhapāna* was a contemporary of *Gautamīputra Śātakarni* of *Śātavāhanakula*. The latter defeated and destroyed *Nāhapāna* sometime about 124-125 A.D. The *Jogalthambi* hoard of coins⁴ shows that the *Śātavāhana* king had restruck the coins of *Nāhapāna* after uprooting him. With the death of *Nāhapāna* the *Kṣaharāṭa* family seems to have come to a close, since we find the *Scythian Kārdamakas* ruling in the south-western part of the *Kuṣān* empire. The founder of this latter family was *Chastana*, son of *Yimōtika* of the *Kārdamaka* family. He is called a *Kṣātrapa* in the earlier coins and a *Mahākṣātrpa* in the later coins. His father, however, did not have titles. Perhaps *Chastana* was appointed by the *Kuṣānas* to rule the south-western province and reconquer the regions lost to *Gautamīputra Śātakarni* earlier. *Chastana* appears to have selected in his old age his son *Jayadāman* as *Kṣātrapa*, who predeceased his father and was succeeded by his son *Rudradāman - I*.⁵ Inscriptions⁶

1. Indian Antiquary (1879) Vol. VIII. p. 143, ff. The Age of Imperial Unity, p. 178.

2. Ibid, p. 179; See also Rapson C. of C.P.P.C., VII.

3. Senart, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p. 82; Rapson, Catalogue of Indian coins, Introduction, p. LVI-LIX.

4. Altekar, Jogalthambi Hoard.

5. Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, P.C. XVIII.

6. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff.

discovered at *Andhau* and other places dated in the *Śaka* year 52 (130-131 A.D.) show *Chastana* ruling conjointly with his grandson *Rāja Rudradāman*. *Chastana* or *Rudradāman* defeated the *Śātavāhana* king and regained most of the northern districts of the latter's dominions conquered from *Nāhapāna*. *Ptolemy*, writing about A.D. 140, mentions *Ujjayini*, capital of *Avānti*, as a principal seat of *Chastana* while *Junagad* inscription¹ of *Rudradāman* credits him with the overlordship of many kingdoms including *Akara*, *Avānti*, *Anupa*, *Aparānta*, *Saurāṣṭra* and *Anarta* (*Dvāraka* region in *Kathiawar*) countries which were conquered earlier by *Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi*. *Rudradāman* himself claims that he defeated *Śātakarṇi* twice but did not destroy him as he was related to him. The *Kanheri* inscription² refers to *Kardamaka* princess, daughter of *Mahākṣātrapa Rudradāman* as the wife of *Vāsiṣṭīputra Śātakarṇi*, apparently a brother of *Vāsiṣṭīputra Śri Pulōmāvi*. *Rudradāman* - I succeeded *Chastana*, his grandfather as *Mahākṣātrapa* sometime after 130 - 131 A.D. The *Junagad Prāṣasti* of *Rudradāman* dated in *Śaka* 71 refers to his conquests and the repairs made by him to the *Sudarśana* lake, which was breached by a cyclone in 150 A.D. He is also said to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the *Yaudhēyas* perhaps on behalf of his *Kuṣāna* overlord. During the period of *Rudradāman* who was an accomplished monarch himself, *Ujjain* became the most important centre of learning in all India.

Among his successors. *Dāmajadaśrī* - I, son of *Rudradāman* - I issued coins as *Kṣātrapa* and he succeeded his father as *Mahākṣātrapa* sometime after 150 A.D. After the death of *Dāmajadaśrī*, there seems to have been a fight between his brother *Rudrasimha* - I and son *Jivadāman*.³ No coin of *Jivadāman* is known but however he seems to have succeeded his father as *Mahākṣātrapa* but was soon ousted by his uncle *Rudrasimha* - I. From this date onwards, we get only silver issues of *Kardamakas* with the year of issue recorded in *Brāhmi* numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. *Rudrasimha* - I issued coins as *Kṣātrapa* during the year *Śaka* 113 - 118 (A. D. 191 - 197) and assumed *Mahākṣātrapa* title sometime between 181 - 189 A.D., when he issued coins in that capacity (A.D. 188 - 191). Between the two periods of his rule as *Mahākṣātrapa*, *Rudrasimha* issued coins as a *Kṣātrapa*. Rapson thinks that this temporary degradation of *Rudrasimha* - I was due to the success of his rival *Jivadāman* who appears to have obtained *Mahākṣātrapa* title. This fact is fairly corroborated as Dr. Altekar has suggested, by the king's bust on the coins dated 119 - 120 which shows a marked change from his earlier issues namely showing the king as an older man. This degradation of *Rudrasimha* - I is however interpreted by Bhandarkar as a consequence of the rise of *Īśvaradatta*, the *Ābhīra*, who fought with the *Mahākṣātrapas*, assumed the title *Dharmavijayin* and styled himself a *Mahākṣātrapa*.⁴ The *Śātavāhana* king *Yajña Śātakarṇi* also invaded their territories, deprived the *Kardamakas* of their provinces and thereby contributed to the temporary eclipse in *Rudrasimha's* power. *Rudrasimha* - I was succeeded by *Jivadāman*, who ruled as *Mahākṣātrapa* in the period 197 - 199 A.D. The next ruler *Rudrasēna*, the son of *Rudrasimha* issued coins as *Kṣātrapa* in the year *Śaka* 121 (A.D. 199 - 200) and assumed the title of *Mahākṣātrapa* early in 201 A.D. *Rudrasēna's* reign ended in *Śaka* 144 (A.D. 222 - 223) when he was succeeded by his brother *Sanghadāman* and during this period *Prithivisēna*, son of *Rudrasēna* - I, is said to have been ruling as *Kṣātrapa*, under his father. *Sanghadāman* had a very short reign, and was succeeded by the third son of *Rudrasimha* - I, *Mahākṣātrapa Dāmasēna*. *Dāmasēna's* coins range in date between *Śaka* 145 - 158 (A.D. 223 - 227) but it is quite probable that

1. Kielhorn, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 36 ff.

2. Buhler, *A.S.W.I.*, V. p. 78; *Ind. Ant.* XII, p. 273 ff.

3. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Introduction, pl. iii.

4. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 186.

he did not live beyond 238 - 239 A.D. It is during this period i.e., Śaka 159 - 161 (A.D. 237-240) that Rapson places *Mahākṣātrapa Išvardatta*. During the days of the rule of *Mahākṣātrapa Dāmasēna*, his nephew *Dāmajadaśrī-II*, son of *Rudrasēna-I*, ruled as *Kṣātrapa* and issued coins. The successor of *Dāmajadaśrī-II* in the office of *Kṣātrapa* was *Vīradāman*, Śaka (156-160) the son of *Dāmasēna*. During this period the power of the *Kardamakas* was again threatened by *Mālvās* from the north and *Ābhīras* from the south, where the *Ābhīras* seem to have established a principality of their own in northern *Mahārāṣṭra* and started an era of their own (248-249).¹

Numismatic evidence refers to four sons of *Dāmasēna* who ruled as *Kṣātrapa* or *Mahākṣātrapa*. *Kṣhātrapa Vīradāman* died in Śaka 160 (A.D. 238-239) and was succeeded as *Kṣātrapa* by his brother *Yasōdāman*, who assumed the position of *Mahākṣātrapa* bequeathing the position of *Kṣātrapa* to his brother *Vijayaśēna*. *Yasōdāman* ruled for one year since *Vijayaśēna*'s coins issued as *Mahākṣātrapa* are dated to Śaka 161-172 (A.D. 239-251). *Vijayaśēna*'s coins were found in Gujarat, Rajaputana and Kathiawar. He was succeeded by his brother *Dāmajadaśrī-III* as *Mahākṣātrapa*. The date of his coins ranges between Śaka 173 and 177 (A.D. 251-256). *Dāmajadaśrī-III* was succeeded by his nephew *Rudrasēna-II*, son of *Vīradāman* as *Mahākṣātrapa*. His coins which are available in abundance bear dates ranging between 177 and 198 (A.D. 255-276). It is this *Mahākṣātrapa* that is matrimonially connected with the *Ikṣvākus* of *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*. It was perhaps his daughter or sister who was given in marriage to *Vīrapuriṣadatta* of the *Ikṣvāku* lineage.

Rudrasēna's son *Viśvasimha* issued coins as *Kṣātrapa* in the years 197-200 (A.D. 275-278) and later assumed the title of *Mahākṣātrapa*, and he was succeeded as *Mahākṣātrapa* by his brother *Bhartridāman* in Śaka 200 (A.D. 278-279). *Bhartridāman* was followed by his son *Viśvasēna*, who ruled as *Kṣātrapa* from 215 to 226 (A.D. 293 - 305) and he never assumed the title of *Mahākṣātrapa*. His last known date is Śaka 226 (A.D. 304-305). We find *Rudrasimha-II*, son of *Jivadāman* bearing no royal title and during this period of *Mahākṣātrapa Bhartridāman* and his son *Kṣātrapa Viśvasēna* the *Kṣātrapa* power was over-thrown by the *Sassanians*.

1. Ibid, 188.

Reference has been made, earlier to *Išvaradatta*, the *Ābhtra* who made common cause with *Yajñasri Śatakarṇi* in attacking the *Kardamakas*. *Ābhtras*, a group of foreign tribe appear to have entered India shortly before or along with the *Śakas* from Eastern Iran. The *Purāṇas* mention them as successors of *Śatavāhanas* and are generally associated with *Aparānta Patañjali*'s *Mahābhāṣya* mentions them in association with the *Śādras* while Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Geography of Ptolemy locate *Abēria*, or *Ābtria*, i.e., the *Ābhtra* country, between the lower *Sind* and *Kathiawar*. The *Ābhtras* referred to in *Purāṇas* however, had their dominions in northern *Konkan* as far as Broach area in the north. In early inscriptions, the *Ābhtras* figure as generals of the *Śaka Mahā Kṣātrapas* of Western India. The *Gunḍa* inscription (Indian Antiquary - X (1887) p. 157), of A.D. 181 of *Rudrasimha-I* records the digging of a tank by the *Ābhtra* general *Rudrabhūti*, son of *Bāpaka*, while the adventurer *Išvaradatta* referred to earlier actually assumed *Satrapal* title *Mahākṣātrapa* and issued silver coins. He was actually in possession of major part of *Śaka* territories for about two years (A.D. 237-240)-(Rapson, Catalogue of Indian Coins, p. cvii.) *Mahākṣātrapa Išvaradatta* was not a *Śaka* as is evident from his name. We know only of one *Ābhtra* king as successor of the *Śatavāhanas* and the *Śakas* in the north-western Deccan and he is *Rājā Māthariputra Išvarasēna*, son of *Ābhtra Śivadatta*, mentioned in the Nasik inscription (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII p. 88, A.S.W.I., IV, p. 103) of the 9th year of *Išvarasēna* and since *Śivadatta* is not credited with any royal titles, *Išvarasēna* may be regarded as the founder of the *Ābhtra* dynasty of kings. He must have flourished sometime after *Yajñasri Śatakarṇi* and started this new era from A.D. 248-249 perhaps with the beginning of his own reign. *Purāṇas* mentioned 10 *Ābhtra* kings ruling for 67 years, but nothing definite is known about *Išvarasēna*'s succession. In this connection, one of the Inscriptions discovered at *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa* which refers to *Ābhtras* is quite significant. *Ābhtras* continued to rule till they came into conflict with *Kadamba* king *Mayūrasarman* while Allahabad inscription (Select Inscription-Dr. D.C. Sircar) of *Samudragupta* refers to the list of tribes including *Ābhtras* as having been subdued by him and later on conquered by the *Trikūṭakas*.

From the above account, it is clear that contemporary *Mahākṣātrapas* of Western India with whom *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* had marital relations should be either *Viśvasimha* or *Bhartridāman*¹, and during this period the *Kṣātrapa* power was considerably weak because it was subjected to attacks by *Ābhtras* and *Mālwas*.

In one of the records² of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* dated in 11th year (C. 281 A.D.) the Commander-in-Chief of the king *Elīśrī* who is described as a great devotee of *Kārtikēya* is said to have become famous for a grand victory in some battle (*Samara vijayinam Khyātākīrīṭh*). No details about this *Samara* or battle referred to in the inscription are available, but it should have been of sufficient significance to merit a reference in the royal record. Who can be this enemy against whom the *Ikṣvāku* forces under *Elīśrī* fought?

It cannot be in an attack against *Kṣaharāṭas*, as *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* was on friendly relations with the *Mahākṣātrapas* of Western India, and he himself was the son-in-law of the *Mahākṣātrapa*. Can it be that *Ikṣvāku* forces were sent under *Elīśrī* to help *Mahākṣātrapa Bhartridāman* in repelling the attacks of *Ābhtras* and *Mālwas*? We have no positive evidence to prove this surmise. There is also no indication regarding the stay of *Ikṣvāku* forces or commanders in Western India anywhere in the records of this period. As such, the reference to the battle in this inscription should have been against an enemy in the immediate vicinity.

Ehavala Chāmtamūla's dominions must have comprised of modern Guntur, Krishna and part of Nellore districts besides the interior regions of modern Nalgonda on the north bank of the river

1. Recently a hoard of coins was discovered at a village called *Petlurivaripālem*, which is very near to Narasaraopet the headquarters of the Revenue Division, Guntur District. This was found by a farmer while ploughing the field and it consisted of silver coins carefully preserved in a smaller pot. This hoard which was secured by Shri N. Bhagwandas, the then Collector of Guntur District, was passed on to me for examination. About 8 coins were examined and I found them to belong to the *Kṣātrapas* of *Ujjain*. The details of the 8 coins examined by me are as follows:

1. Obverse : *Rāño mahākṣātrapasa Rudrasēna*
Reverse : The portraiture of the king with the Greek legend above.
2. Obverse : *Rāño kṣātrapasa Vīradāmanputrasa rāño mahākṣātrapasa Rudrasēna*.
Reverse : Behind the head there appears to be the date in Greek numerals.
3. Obverse : Legend incomplete.
Reverse : *Kṣātrapasa bhāṭradāma p(uta) so rāño kṣātrapasa*.
4. Obverse : *Rāño mahākṣātrapasa Dāmasēna putrasa rāño mahākṣātrapasa Vijayasēnasa*.
5. *Rāño kṣātrapasa Vīradāma putrasa - kṣātrapasa Rudrasēnasa*.
6. Broken coin - *Rāño mahākṣātrapasa - putra Rāño mahākṣātrapasa Vijaya*.
7. *Rāño kṣātrapasa Vīradāma putrasa rāño mahākṣātrapasa Rudrasēna*.
8. *Rāño mahākṣātrapasa* . . . (the rest illegible).

The occurrence of this hoard near Narasaraopet, which is within *Ikṣvāku* dominions giving practically the details of the genealogical succession of *Kṣātrapas* is very interesting and corroborates the epigraphical evidence regarding the existence of family relationship between the two ruling houses.

[Note : This *Petlurivaripālem* hoard of the Western *Kṣātrapas* has since been acquired by the Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Museum at Hyderabad. This hoard has been thoroughly examined by Dr. H.M. Trivedi of Baroda and a separate catalogue on these coins is being published separately by the Dept. of Archaeology, Govt. of Andhra Pradesh—General Editor].

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 147 ff.

Krishna (see map). During the period of decline of *Śātavāhana* power, other dynasties that rose into prominence along with the *Ikṣvākus* of *Vijayapuri* are the *pallavas* in Nellore-Guntur region, the *Śālankāyanas* in the Godavari area, *Viṣṇukunḍins*, *Brihatpalāyanas*, *Ānandagōtra* kings of *Kandārapura*, etc. Of these powers, the *Śālankāyanas* did not seem to have come into any direct conflict with the *Ikṣvākus* since we find no reference to their conquests of any territories to the south of river Krishna during the early period of their conquest and consolidation. The power of *Viṣṇukunḍins* with their place round about *Vinukonda* was still in its nascent state while the *Brihatpalāyanas* as could be inferred from the evidence of the *Koṇḍamūdi* plates¹ of *Jayavarman* were busy round about Masulipatam. Moreover, the *Brihatpalāyanas* were related to *Ikṣvākus* and there could not have been any danger from their side. Obviously the *Ikṣvāku* kingdom was threatened by *Pallavas* and *Ānandagōtrin* kings.

Two records, one found at *Gōraṅṭla*² in modern Guntur District, (i.e. in the heart of *Ikṣvāku* dominions) refer to the donation of 800 *pattis* of land in *Taḍikonḍa* village along with *Ātukūru* on the south bank of *Kṛṣṇavenṇā* by *Attivarman*, a devotee of *Śambhū* i.e. *Śiva* and a performer of many *dānas* including *Hiranyagarbha* etc., to a *Brāhmaṇa* named *Koṭṭiśarma* belonging to the *Āpastamba-sūtra* and was well-versed in all the *Vēdas*. Prof. J. F. Fleet, who edited the *Gōraṅṭla* record took *Attivarman* of that grant as a *Pallava* king which is evidently a mistake.

The other record refers to one *Dāmōdaravarman* and was dated on the 13th day of *Kārtika* in the 2nd year of the king, registering the grant of the village *Kangūra* to a number of *brāhmaṇas* and was issued from the victorious city *Kandārapura*, perhaps the capital of the *Ānandagōtrin* kings. *Dāmōdaravarman* was described in the grant as a great devotee of Buddha and is at the same time mentioned as '*Hiranyagarbhōdbhavōdbhava*'. But Prof. Hultszch who edited this inscription of *Dāmōdaravarman* expressed the opinion that *Dāmōdaravarman* was earlier to *Attivarman* of *Gōraṅṭla* record. Dr. Sircar³ who examined this question further basing on the epithets supplied by the records—'*Hiranyagarbhōdbhavōdbhava*' one whose father is a *Hiranyagarbhōdbhava* occurring in the *Mattepāḍu* plates identified *Dāmōdaravarman* as a son and successor of *Attivarman* of *Gōraṅṭla* record. This inference of Dr. Sircar appears to be quite reasonable since *Attivarman* has been credited with the performance of *Hiranyagarbha*, one of those costly *Mahādānas*. An examination of the *prāśasti* of these kings, particularly that of *Dāmōdaravarman*, shows marked similarities to that of *Ikṣvākus*. *Attivarman*, like *Chāmtamūla* of *Ikṣvākus*, was a great devotee of *Śiva* while his successor *Dāmōdaravarman* was a devout worshipper of *Samyakasambuddha* like *Vṛapuriśadatta*. As such, we may not be far from truth if we presume that the *Ānandagōtrin* kings with their capital of *Kandārapura* were either subordinates of *Ikṣvākus* or their junior contemporaries.

No serious attempt has been made so far to fix the date of these *Ānandagōtrin* kings in their correct chronological setting not to identify the victorious *Kandārapura*, the seat of their power. *Hastivarman* of the *Gōraṅṭla* record has been described as a devout worshipper of *Śiva*, the presiding deity of *Vākēśvaram* or *Vankēśvaram*. *Vankēśvaram* is a place of pilgrimage even to this day which is noted for its shrine of *Śiva*, located hardly 25 miles from *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* in the *Dēvarakoṇḍa* taluk of *Nalgōṇḍa* District. Very near this place there is a village called *Kandukuru* with ancient remains. If the contents

1. *Koṇḍamūdi* plates of *Jayavarman*; *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 315 ff.

2. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX, p. 102 ff.

3. *Successors of Śātavāhanas*, p. 55 ff.

of *Mattepāḍu* grant as well as *Gōraṇṭla* inscription of this dynasty are supplying us correct information, we may not be wrong if we identify '*Vākēśvaram*' of *Gōraṇṭla* inscription with *Vankēśavaram* of *Dēvara-konḍa* Taluk. *Kandukūru*, which is close by may be the ancient capital-Kadaropura of the *Ānandagōtra* kings. These kings are not known from any of the earlier records. It is quite possible that these people were originally conquered and reduced to subordinate status by *Chāmtamūla-I*. Finding it opportune to assume their independence and even to expand their influence *Simhavarman* might have attacked *Ikṣvāku* kingdom during the early years of reign of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* from south-west. Simultaneously there seems to have been an invasion from the south-east as well by the Pallava armies under *Simhavarman*. One of the records discovered at *Manchikallu* near *Macherla* datable on palaeographical grounds to the second half of the third century A.D. mentions *Simhavarman* to be busy performing propitiary rites (*Śānti-svastyayana*) and making gifts to the priests (*tairthikas*) of *Bagavat Jīvaśiva-swamin* for avoiding evils and attaining victory and prosperity. Though *Simhavarman* is not mentioned with any royal titles, it is reasonable to surmise that he was mustering his forces and making a bid to extend *Pallava* influence into the north.¹

This simultaneous attack on the kingdom of *Ikṣvākus* both from the west and east must have shaken their power to its very foundation. *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* was compelled to seek assistance from his allies in the west. A confederacy of ruling princes, that was friendly with *Ikṣvākus Rudradāman* of *Avanti*, *Viṣṇurudraśivalānanda Śātakarṇi* of *Vanavāsa*, *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahādaṇḍānayaka Śivasēna* of *Kauśika gōtra* from *Paribidēhā*, the *Yavana Rājas* of *Sanjayapura*-led by the *Ābhira* king *Vasusēna*, was organised to help the *Ikṣvāku* monarch. This is revealed from an inscription² discovered recently at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. This record is dated in the 30th year of an unknown era and refers to the presence of all the above mentioned rules headed by *Ābhira Vasusēna*. Since we have seen that the *Ābhiras* had started a reckoning of their own, which coincided with the year 248-249 of the Christian era, it can be taken that this record is dated in their own era. Then we may have to assign this inscription to the year 270-271 A.D. corresponding to the 9th regnal year of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla*. The occurrence of this inscription dated in the 30th year of *Ābhira Vasusēna* at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* has been understood as a reference to *Ābhira* invasion and occupation in the history of coastal *Āndhra*. This suggestion is untenable in view of the happy matrimonial relations that *Ikṣvākus* had with the rulers of *Vanavāsa* and *Ujjain*-

1. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, p. 87 ff.

This is the earliest epigraphical record of the *Pallava* family and *Simhavarman* was an ancestor of *Sivaskandavarman* who issued the *Mayidavōlu* plates from *Kānci* as *Yuvamahārāja*. Dr. Sircar who edited this inscription suggested that the presence of this inscription of *Pallavas* in the proximity of *Vijayapuri (Nāgārjunakoṇḍa)* perhaps indicates that he was "responsible for the destruction of the city together with its Buddhist establishments". He further identifies *Simhavarman* as the father of *Sivaskandavarman*. The exact date of the rise of *Pallavas* to power like their origins are shrouded in mystery. Since the Allahabad inscription (J.F. Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, See also Select Inscriptions by Dr. D.C. Sircar) of *Samudragupta* mentions *Pallava Viṣṇugōpa* as ruler of *Kānci* their rise to power must have taken place earlier to *Samudragupta's* invasion i.e. 330-375 A.D. They belong to the *Bhāradvājagōtra* and claim descent only from their *Gōtra Rishis*. In fixing the exact time of *Pallava* ascendancy, the Geography of *Ptolemy* and the charters of *Pallava* rulers themselves greatly help us. It was in the middle of 2nd century A.D. that *Ptolemy* wrote his account and in that we do not find the mention of *Pallavas* as a ruling power. The regions over which *Pallavas* claim overlordship was then actually ruled by *Nagas*. So, between 140 A.D. i.e. the date of the Geography of *Ptolemy* and *Samudragupta's* Allahabad record (A.D. 330-375) *Pallavas* must have attained sufficient power and political supremacy.

2. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*. 1958-59, p. 8.

Evidently it was this victory that is alluded to in the *Sarvadēvādhivāsa* inscription of *Elisri* dated in the 11th year of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla*. The enemies were successfully repelled and the authority of *Ehavala* was re-established. In this battle which was of considerable significance, *Elisri* son of *Gandi* and grandson of *Anikki* the *Śenāpati* might have distinguished himself. In token of their gratitude to the gods who favoured them with victory all these chieftains and kings engaged themselves in the construction of *Dēvakulas* or temples. If *Elisri* had built a temple for *Śiva* and called it *Sarvadēvādhivāsa* his king and overlord, installed a *Dhvaja Stamba* at the temple of *Puṣhpabhadra* while other friendly king and confederate *Ābhira Vasuṣēna* busied himself in the conservation of the image of *Aṣṭabhujaśwāmi* all in the city and capital of *Ikṣvāku* kings.

This help afforded by the confederacy of the Western rulers to *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* brought him only a temporary victory over his immediate neighbours and he maintained the integrity of his kingdom perhaps till the 25th year of his reign, when he was succeeded by his son *Rudrapuriṣadatta* sometime about the year 210 A.D.

The last known year of *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* from his records¹ is dated in the 24th year of his reign when certain improvements were made to a monastery by *Īśvaranandi* who is described as the Chief or *Śrēṣṭhi* of *Chandakaparvata*, who visited this monastery with his wife, son, and other near relatives and caused the consecration of a stone image of Budha (*Samyakasambuddhāya Buddhārya Śailamayī pratimā pratiṣṭhāpita*) and dedicated it for the use of *Ācāryas* living in that monastery. *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* must have died sometime about 297 A.D. when his son *Rudrapuriṣadatta* through his *Kṣātrapa* wife *Śirivammabhatta* succeeded him to the throne of the *Ikṣvākus*. *Rudrapuriṣadatta* seems to have installed a *Śiva Linga* as is wont with all devotees of *Śiva* naming it after his illustrious father *Ehavalēśvara* at a point where the river *Kriṣṇā*, emerges from the gorge and takes a north-easterly bend. This shrine gathered a lot of religious importance in subsequent periods with a slightly distorted name *Elēśvara* perhaps a corruption of *Ehavalēśvara*.

We have only two inscriptions of *Rudrapuriṣadatta* one dated in his 11th year from *Nāgarjuna-konda* valley itself while the other dated in this 4th year², was found at *Gurazala*, 32 miles away from *Vijayapuri*. The first record refers to the erection of a *Chāyā Stambha* in memory of the mother of *Rudrapuriṣadatta* while the latter records some donations by a private individual *Nodukaśiri* to the God at *Halampura*. *Rudrapuriṣadatta* had a brother born to *Ehavala* through *Kamduvula*, named *Hārīti*putra *Kumāra Virapuriṣadatta*.

With the accession of *Rudrapuriṣadatta* to the throne of *Ikṣvākus* at *Vijayapuri*, their power had considerably weakened. The *Mahākṣātrapas* of Western India who were helping them in times of need, also lost their power. Finding that *Rudrapuriṣadatta* was left alone, the *Pallavas* from the south who were waiting for an opportunity to conquer these regions appear to have renewed their attacks.

The *Mayidavōlu*³ *Hirahadagalli*⁴ and the British Museum⁵ grants supply us some interesting information about the exploits of *Pallava Śivaskandayarman*. These inscriptions are in *Prakrit* and are

1. Supra.

2. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, p. 124-125.

3. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VI, p. 34.

4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 2.

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

accepted as the earliest records of the *Pallavas*, though difference of opinion exists among the scholars with regard to their actual dating. Prof Dubreuil¹ assigns *Śivaskandavarman* of these records to A.D. 250-275 while Dr. D.C. Sircar² puts *Śivaskandavarman* in the first quarter of the 4th century A.D. According to Dr. D.C. Sircar, there is the linguistic difference between the grants of *Śivaskandavarman* and the records of the *Ikṣvākus*, like the *Śatavāhana* grants and early *Prākṛit* inscriptions of *Ikṣvāku* records (excepting the record of the last known king, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 62) express compound consonants by single letters. The *Mayidavōlu* and *Hirahadaga* grants of *Śivaskandavarman* on the other hand express them in many cases by two letters. Though the grants of *Śivaskandavarman* are in *Prākṛit*, the legend on the seals of both the grants are written in *Sanskrit*. The *Hirahadaga* grant moreover ends in a *Mangala* which is also written in *Sanskrit*. This linguistic difference clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the reign of the former and that of the latter. Consequently *Śivaskandavarman* could not have ruled much earlier than the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

The introduction of *Sanskrit* as state language in south of India can now be precisely dated with reference to the records of the *Ikṣvāku* king *Ehavala Chāmtamūla* discovered at *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa*. The records of *Ehavala* dated in his 2nd year are in *Prākṛit* whereas those from 11th year are found in *Sanskrit*. Naturally it is to be inferred that *Sanskrit* replaced *Prākṛit* as a state language during this period i.e. sometime between 272 and 281 A.D. We find expression of compound consonants in double letters both in the records of *Chāmtamūla* - II and his son *Rudrapuriṣadatta*. The records further show prominent *Prākṛit* influence though instances of highly developed literary *Sanskrit* verses were also not wanting. In view of these above facts, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Sircar's contention that the rise of the *Pallavas* to power should be dated sometime early in the 4th century A.D.

Pallava armies under *Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman* marched against *Rudrapuriṣadatta*. The latter proved no equal match to the *Pallava* conqueror. *Ikṣvāku* territories were overrun and annexed to the kingdom of the *Pallavas*. Perhaps signifying this incident, *Mayidavōlu* charter was issued by the victorious *Pallava* prince. *Rudrapuriṣadatta* however maintained a semblance of power sometime more as the provenance of the coins under review would indicate.

The final extinction of *Ikṣvāku* power from *Śrīparvata* and *Vijayapuri* is again shrouded in obscurity. In this connection the *Talagonda*³ inscription of the *Kadamba* rulers seems to throw some light on the issue. According to this record, *Mayūraśarman* was prosecuting his *Vedic* studies at *Kāncīpura* when he was drawn into a quarrel with *Pallavas* (*Aśvasamasthāna kalahēna*) which Keilhorn thinks was in connection with the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice, and was ill-treated. *Mayūraśarman*, whose pride was wounded by the treatment meted out to him and along with him to the *Brahmana* community took a vow to avenge this insult. He "unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the world", defeated the frontier guards of the *Pallava* kings (*antahplān Pallav=ēndrānām*) and established himself at *Śrīparvata*. His power gradually increased and *Pallava* king of *Kāncī* was compelled not only to recognize his position as a ruler but also to take him into his service and honour him with *Pattabandhasampūja*.

1. Ancient History of Deccan, p. 55 ff.

2. Successors of *Śatavāhanas*, p. 174 ff.

3. Epigraphia Carnatica Vol. VIII, 200 ff.

Śrīparvata has already been identified with the valley, wherein the capital of the *Ikṣvākus* 'Vijaypuri' was situated. If the *Talagonḍa* grant of *Mayūraśarman* is giving us correct information about his earlier exploits, we may not be far from truth if we presume that *Ikṣvāku* capital town round about *Śrīparvata* was occupied by *Mayūraśarman* about the first half of the 4th century either in the last days of *Rudrapuriṣadatta* or immediately after his death.

Though inscriptions found at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* refer to one *Kumāra Vīrapuriṣadatta*, son of *Kanduvula*, born to *Ehavala*, there is no mention of his succession to the throne. It is quite likely that he was ousted by *Mayūraśarman* who ruled *Vijayapuri* in *Śrīparvata* as a vassal of *Pallava* kings and in course of time gradually extended his power upto *Banavāsi*, ousting perhaps the *Trikūṭakas* or the *Chutū Śātakarṇis*.

CLASSIFICATION AND CATALOGUE

Basing on the fragmentary legends and the variations on the obverse symbols, the coins in the hoard have been classified into the following types;

Type Ia and I	..	belonging to <i>Chāmtamūla</i> .
Type II	..	<i>Vṛapuriṣadatta</i> .
Type III	..	<i>Ehavaḷa Chāmtamūla</i> .
Type IV	..	<i>Rudrapuriṣadatta</i> .

Coins bearing legends, but of doubtful ascription have been classified under 'Doubtful Category' and described in detail.

The rest of the coins of the hoard though they do not contain any legends in their present condition have been included under 'Illegible coins'. This last category has been found to be quite useful in the study of symbols, technique and peculiarities in the casting of these coins.

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
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TYPE Ia & I

SIRI CHĀMTAMŪLA : CHĀTMŪLA

TYPE-Ia, LEAD (*Aśvamēdha* Type)

1. Obverse Horse facing right? a post (*Yūpa*) at right corner
Legend: Hazy, lower part of the letters alone extant, reads (*Siri*) *cāta*

Reverse Ujjain symbol: Four circles connected by a cross .6" 47

TYPE-I

2. Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk part missing
Legend : *siri ca (ta)*

Reverse Ujjain symbol: as above .6" 45

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
3. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, advancing Legend: <i>siri ca</i> Ujjain symbol same as above	.6"	40
4. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: letters are small and finer. <i>siri ca</i> Ujjain symbol, same as above	.6"	50
5. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri ca</i> Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
6. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right with trunk uplifted - coin portion cut off below the tusk Legend: <i>siri ca (ta)</i> Symbol not properly impressed	.7"	50
7. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right Legend: <i>siri ca (ta)?</i> (not very clear) Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
8. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, with trunk uplifted. There is rope hanging from the neck. Legend : <i>siri ca (ta)?</i> Ujjain symbol	.7"	45
9. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri ca</i> Ujjain symbol	.7"	50
10. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right with trunk uplifted and a rope hanging down loose Legend : <i>(si) rica (ta)?</i> Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
11. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>siri ca</i> Ujjain symbol	.6"	42
12. Obverse Reverse	Elephant facing right, with stretched legs, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri ca (ta)?</i> Ujjain symbol	.6"	47

No.	Description		Size	Weight in grains
TYPE II, LEAD - SIRI VĪRAPURIṢADATTA				
13.	Obverse	Elephant, a tusker, facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (si) ri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	.7"	46
14.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: siri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol: Fillet inside the circle shown prominently	.7"	60
15.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: siri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	54
16.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower part of the animal missing Legend: (si) ri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
17.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, body of the elephant is shown in three lumps Legend : (si) rivī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	60
18.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: siri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol, only one of the four circles extant	.6"	40
19.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend : siri vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	37
20.	Obverse	Elephant facing right and in an advancing posture Legend: si (ri) vī		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
21.	Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (siri) vī (only lower portions of the letters are extant)		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
22.	Obverse	Elephant facing right (mutilated) Legend: siri (vī)?		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	36
23.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend : (si) rivi		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	41

<i>No.</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Weight in grains</i>
24. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend : (si) rivi		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	33
25. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: sirivi		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	30
26. Obverse	Elephant facing right (trunk part missing) Legend: siri vi (only lower portions of the letters are available).		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	30
27. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (si) rivtra		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	42
28. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (siri) vtra. The bottom loop stroke of 'ra' is turned towards right		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
29. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: siri (vtra)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
30. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (siri) vi		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	38
31. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (siri) vt		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
32. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk part missing Legend : sirivi		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol obliterated	.6"	40
33. Obverse	Elephant facing right, the uplifted part of the trunk missing Legend: siri vi		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
34. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part missing Legend: siri (vt)?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
35.	Obverse Elephant facing right Legend: (si) rivī (only lower portions of the letters extant)		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	32
36.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: 'sirivī'		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	54
37.	Obverse Elephant facing right Legend: (si) rivī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.7"	86
38.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (siri) vī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
39.	Obverse Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: sirivī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
40.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: siri (vī)		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	70
41.	Obverse Elephant facing right Legend: (si) ri vī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
42.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk as well as lower part of the animal missing Legend: (si) rivī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	55
43.	Obverse Elephant facing right with upraised trunk Legend: sirivī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
44.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: siri (vī)		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	44
45.	Obverse Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend: (si) rivī		
	Reverse Ujjain symbol	.6"	39

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
46. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: <i>Vī</i> (<i>Vīrapuriṣa</i>)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
47. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk part missing Legend: <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
48. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk lowered Legend: <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Not clear (Hazy representation of an elephant can be made out, perhaps a counter - turn)	.6"	45
49. Obverse	Elephant, a tusker, facing right Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	40
50. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower body and trunk part missing Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
51. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower part of the animal missing Legend: <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
52. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i> (not very clear)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	38
53. Obverse	Elephant facing right, crudely represented Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i> (lower part of the legend legible)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
54. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend : <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol-incompletely impressed	.6"	40
55. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower part of the body missing Legend : (<i>siri</i>) <i>vī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	48
56. Obverse	Elephant facing right, advancing posture Legend: <i>siri</i> (<i>vī</i>)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
57. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower part and trunk missing Legend : <i>sirivtra</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	58
58. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri</i> (<i>vī</i>)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
59. Obverse	Elephant facing right with upraised trunk Legend : <i>sirivtra</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
60. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower body and trunk missing (coin in broken condition) Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivt</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
61. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend : (<i>ri</i>) <i>vt</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	38
62. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	31
63. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing, advancing posture Legend : <i>sirivtra</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	44
64. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend : <i>sirivt</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	42
65. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend: (<i>ri</i>) <i>vī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	34
66. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, crude form of animal is represented. Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivt</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
67. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower body and trunk part missing Legend : (<i>siri</i>) <i>vt</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
68. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend : <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	31
69. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
70. Obverse	Elephant facing right, advancing, trunk portion missing Legend: <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
71. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend : <i>Purī</i> (<i>śa</i>)?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	43
72. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend : (<i>ri</i>) <i>vī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
73. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk missing, the rope hanging down from the neck is clearly shown Legend: (<i>siri</i>) <i>vī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	50
74. Obverse	Elephant, a tusker, facing right with trunk upraised Legend : <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	53
75. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower part of the body missing Legend : (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
76. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend : <i>sirivī</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35

TYPE III, LEAD-*SIRI EHAVALA CHĀMTAMŪLA* : *SIRI EHUVALA CHĀMTAMŪLA*

77. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri Eha</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	54
78. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>Siri</i> [<i>Eha</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	49

No.	Description		Size	Weight in grains
79.	Obverse	Elephant, a tusker, facing right Legend: (si) ri E(ha)	.6"	
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
80.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>Siri Eha</i>	.6"	55
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
81.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with upraised trunk, back portion of the body missing Legend: (Siri) Eha	.6"	42
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
82.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised ? lower portion of the body missing Legend: <i>Siri Eha</i>	.6"	40
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
83.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: (si) ri Eha	.6"	50
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol, the cross connecting the four circles is slightly bigger		
84.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (si) ri Eha	.6"	39
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
85.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (si) ri Eha	.6"	40
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
86.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>Siri E(ha)</i>	.6"	40
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
87.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, back part of the body with tail visible, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri E(ha)</i>	.6"	30
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol		

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
88. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend : (si) ri E (ha)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	30
89. Obverse	Elephant facing right, lower part of the body missing Legend: (si) ri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	36
90. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, leg portion mutilated Legend: (si) ri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
91. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, leg portion missing Legend: (Siri) Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	52
92. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (Siri) E(ha)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	41
93. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: Siri E(ha)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
94. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower part missing Legend: (si) ri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
95. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: Siri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	55
96. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk upraised lower part of the body missing Legend: (si) ri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	61
97. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, partly visible, lower part of the body missing Legend: (si) ri Eha		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	48

No.	Description		Size	Weight in grains
98.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend : <i>siri Ehu</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	.6"	37
99.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, hind part of the body missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri Eha</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
100.	Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (<i>Siri</i>) <i>Eha</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
101.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (<i>Siri</i>) <i>Eha</i> (only lower part of the legend is visible)		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	62
102.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, back part of the body missing Legend : (<i>Siri</i>) <i>E (ha)</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	34
103.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk upraised Legend: <i>Siri Ehu</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	40
104.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend : <i>Siri E (ha)</i> or (<i>siri vi</i>) ?		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	42
105.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend : (<i>siri</i>) <i>Eha</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	56

TYPE IV - LEAD - *RUDRAPURISADATTA*

106.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>Puriṣa</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	50
107.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: <i>Siri ru</i>		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	33

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
108. Obverse	Elephant facing left (?) with trunk upraised? Legend: <i>Siri ru (da)</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol obliterated	.6"	45
109. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: <i>(si) ri rudapu</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
110. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: <i>Siri Ruda</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	.6"	48
111. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised (missing) Legend: <i>(Si) ri Ru (da)</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
DOUBTFUL COINS			
112. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: <i>siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	39
113. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: <i>(ri)</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	34
114. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down. Legend: <i>(si) ri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	44
115. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk uplifted Legend: Illegible		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
116. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: <i>Siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
117. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk uplifted Legend: <i>Siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
118. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: not clear		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
119. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: <i>Siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	58
120. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down		
	Legend: <i>ri</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
121. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	23
122. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: <i>sirivi</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	31
123. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing		
	Legend: <i>Siri (ru)</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
124. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri (ru)</i>	.6"	40
Reverse	Ujjain symbol		
125. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: <i>siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
126. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk uplifted		
	Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	33
127. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: Illegible		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	37
128. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: Not clear		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
129. Obverse	Elephant facing right		
	Legend: <i>Siri</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
130. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down		
	Legend: <i>Illegible</i>		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	38

No.	Description	Size	Weight in grains
131. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: Hazy - <i>Eha</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
132. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: <i>Eha</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	56
133. Obverse	Elephant facing right, a tusker, trunk and back part of body missing Legend: can be read with difficulty (<i>si</i>) <i>ri Eha</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	.6"	58
134. Obverse	Elephant facing right, advancing Legend: seems to contain inscription, reads <i>Siri E</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	43
135. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri vi</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	55
136. Obverse	Elephant a tusker, facing right, with trunk upraised Legend: (<i>ri</i>) <i>vi</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	51
137. Obverse	Elephant facing right, with trunk upraised Legend: <i>Sirivi</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	33
138. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: <i>Sirivi</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	34
139. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: Hazy, can be read as <i>siriva</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.7"	40
140. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing Legend: Hardly reads <i>siri Eha</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	60
141. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower portion of the animal missing Legend: <i>rivi</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	63

No.	Description	Size	Weight grains
142. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, crude form of the animal represented Legend: hardly reads 'Ehu'?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	.6"	49
143. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: can be read with difficulty <i>rivi</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
144. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	42
145. Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised Legend: (<i>ri</i>) <i>vī</i> ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	50
146. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>rivī</i> (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	41
147. Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: (<i>sirivī</i>) ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	30
148. Obverse	Elephant, a tusker, facing right with trunk upraised Legend: <i>siri</i> (<i>vī</i>) ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	26
149. Obverse	Elephant facing right with uplifted trunk, back and lower part of the body missing Legend: (<i>si</i>) <i>ri</i> (<i>vī</i>) ?		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	35
150. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: (<i>vī</i>)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40
151. Obverse	Elephant facing right Legend: Faint inscription, hardly reads (<i>sirivīra</i>) (?)		
Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40

No.	Description		Size	Weight in grains
152.	Obverse	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing Legend: Hazy, hardly reads <i>sirivrapu</i> ?		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	45
153.	Obverse	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, rear portion missing Legend: (si) rivi (?)		
	Reverse	Ujjain symbol	.6"	40

LEAD - ILLEGIBLE COINS

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
154.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower and back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Oblong, slightly pointed	.6"	46	
155.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
156.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	36	
157.	Elephant facing right, uplifted portion of trunk missing, the hanging rope from the neck is quite prominent	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	32	
158.	Elephant facing right, badly obliterated	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	49	
159.	Elephant facing right, back portion of the elephant missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
160.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	35	Overlapping marks are clear
161.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	34	
162.	Elephant facing right, rear portion with tail extant	Ujjain symbol	Circular but with a pointed projection at one end	.6"	53	

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
63.	Elephant facing right, with trunk uplifted	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	46	
164.	Elephant facing right, with trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	48	The symbol of elephant is complete though crude.
165.	Elephant facing right, the animal appears to be too small	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	37	
166.	Elephant facing right, trunk & back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol,	Circular	.7"	40	
167.	Completely obliterated	Obliterated	Circular	.6"	48	
168.	Elephant facing right, rather short in structure	Ujjain symbol, partly defaced	Circular	.6"	40	
169.	Elephant facing right, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
170.	Elephant facing right, advancing, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	40	Overlapping marks very clear
171.	Elephant facing right, advancing, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
172.	Elephant facing right, trunk as well as back portion of the animal missing	Ujjain symbol only one Circle with a central pillet prominently shown	Circular	.6"	38	
173.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right, only tail portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	46	Overlapping marks on the reverse quite clear
174.	Elephant facing right, badly obliterated, the circle defining the margin is very clear	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	46	
175.	Elephant facing right, (broken)	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	39	
176.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	40	The elephant looks as though it is leaving the circle

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
177.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
178.	Elephant facing right, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	47	
179.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing, three stiff legs are prominent	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	46	
180.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	29	
181.	Elephant facing right, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	34	
182.	Elephant facing right,	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	33	
183.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	37	
184.	Elephant facing right, mutilated and crude	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
185.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	48	Overlapping symbol on reverse prominent
186.	Elephant facing right with trunk hanging down	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	63	Overlapping marks on the reverse.
187.	Elephant facing right, lower and back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol very clear	Circular	.6"	45	
188.	Elephant right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	66	
189.	Elephant facing right, with trunk upraised, back portion of the animal missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
190.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	45	
191.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	45	

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
192.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	61	
193.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	58	
194.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	56	
195.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised and the lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
196.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	50	
197.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised and back and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	53	Compares well with the Potin issues of <i>Śatavāhanās</i>
198.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing, crude	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
199.	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol partly obliterated	Circular	.6"	39	
200.	Elephant facing right, very crude	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	42	Reverse symbol shows that it had a well-defined margin perhaps an independent mould
201.	Elephant facing right, lower and back part of the body missing, very crude.	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	32	
202.	Elephant facing right, back portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	68	
203.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
204.	Elephant facing right; there is a chisel mark on the trunk portion	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	56	

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
205.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol partly obliterated	Circular	.6"	50	
206.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
207.	Elephant facing right, obliterated partly	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
208.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
209.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
210.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	49	In the Ujjain symbol the marks are triangular rather than circular
211.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Slightly oval	.7"	50	
212.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	60	
213.	Elephant facing right, obliterated	Ujjain symbol obliterated	Circular	.6"	50	
214.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	49	
215.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
216.	Elephant facing right, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	52	
217.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
218.	Not clear	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	38	
219.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
220.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
221.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
222.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	49	
223.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
224.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
225.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Oblong	.8"	41	Indication of heavy hammering apparent.
226.	Elephant facing right with upraised trunk	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	45	
227.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	48	
228.	Elephant facing right, not very clear	Ujjain symbol	Oblong (pointed)	.7"	40	
229.	Elephant facing right, not very clear	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	41	
230.	Elephant facing right, advancing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	44	
231.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
232.	Elephant facing right, not clear	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	49	
233.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	52	
234.	Elephant facing right, back portion of the body as well as trunk missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
235.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
236.	Elephant facing right, advancing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	39	
237.	Elephant facing right, crude form of the animal	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	50	
238.	Elephant facing right, crude form of the animal	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	48	
239.	Elephant facing right, crude form of the animal	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
240.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
241.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	48	
242.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, standing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
243.	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	

<i>No.</i>	<i>Description</i>		<i>Shape</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>Weight in grains</i>	<i>Remarks</i>
	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>				
244.	Elephant facing right, crude and much worn out	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	32	
245.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	30	
246.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol, partly obliterated	Circular	.6"	37	
247.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
248.	Elephant facing right, trunk and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
249.	Not clear	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
250.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right, with trunk upraised	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
251.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	50	
252.	Elephant facing right with uplifted trunk	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	39	
253.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
254.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, lower and back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	35	
255.	Elephant facing right, trunk, back and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	42	
256.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	33	
257.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, back part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	37	
258.	Elephant facing right, back and lower part of the body missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	46	

No.	Description		Shape	Size	Weight in grains	Remarks
	Obverse	Reverse				
259.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
260.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, representation very crude, trunk and tail uplifted	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.7"	52	
261.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
262.	Elephant facing right, very crude and obliterated partly	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Circular	.6"	34	
263.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, advancing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	26	
264.	Elephant facing right, trunk portion missing, the animal is rather too small	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	32	
265.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, rear portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
266.	Elephant facing right with trunk upraised, rear portion missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
267.	Elephant facing right, obliterated	Ujjain symbol, obliterated	Oblong pointed	.7"	38	
268.	Elephant facing right, very crude form of the animal	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	52	
269.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	55	
270.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Oblong (broken)	.6"	20	
271.	Elephant facing right	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	39	Ujjain symbol smaller than others
272.	Elephant facing right, completely obliterated	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	
273.	Elephant, a tusker, facing right with trunk upraised	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	38	
274.	Elephant facing right, trunk part missing	Ujjain symbol	Circular	.6"	40	Pressed in to a cup shape

CONCLUSION

The names and values of these coins is difficult to conjecture. Inscriptions found at *Nāgarjunakoṇḍa* refer to names of certain coins donated by the pious pilgrims to the *Stūpa* for certain benefaction prescribed presumably belonging to the currency in vogue during the *Ikṣvāku* rule. The *Mahā Chaitya* inscription¹ mentions the donations of 170 *Dināri māṣakas* by *Mahātālavari Chāmtisiri-nika* of the *Pūkiya*, while another found near the auditorium and *Hārithi* temple refer to an 'Akṣayanivī' or perpetual endowment consisting of one hundred *Dināri māṣakas* (*Dināri māsha—Śatam*).

Kārshapaṇa the silver punch-marked coin, known from early literature, of which numerous hoards have been reported from different parts of India appear to be the standard medium of exchange from about 6th century B.C. onwards with all its submultiples, of which *Pāṇini* himself mentions as $\frac{1}{2}$ *ardha* (*ardha śabdō rūpa kārḍhaśya rūḍhih*) *bhāga* (*bhāga śabdopi rūpa kārḍhaśya vāchakah*) $\frac{1}{4}$ as *pada* and $\frac{1}{16}$ as *māsha*². *Jātakas* also refer to the name of current coin, *kāhapana* or *Kārshapaṇa* while the *Aṣṭadhyāyī* used both the words *paṇa* and *Kārshapaṇa*. Later on the name *Pratī* for *kārshapaṇa* is mentioned in *Mahā Bhārata-Sabhāparva* (*pratīkamca śatam Vriddhya dadasya rinam=anugraham*). Curiously the *Nāśik* cave inscription of *Uṣavadāta* records one *Pratikā* as the interest on 2000 and $\frac{3}{4}$ *pratika* or *padika* on 1000 *kārsapaṇas*. *Sātra-V* of *Pāṇini* mentions *Māsa*. *Māsa* was both the silver and copper coin. The silver *Māsa* is $\frac{1}{16}$ part of a *Kārshapaṇa* and weighs 2 *rattis* i.e. 3.6 grams.³ Actually specimens of *Māsa* coins were found at *Bhir Mound, Taxila* and at *Thatari* in old Central Provinces. There are minute coins with a single symbol stamped on one side, weighing 2 to 3 grains.⁴ The copper *māsa* is a sub-multiple and weighs 6 *rattis*, i.e. one-sixteenth of a *Tāmrikapana*. According to *Kauṭilya*, the lower divisions of copper series were *ardha-māshaka*, *kakāni*, and *ardha-kakāni*. Curiously *Jātakas* also refer to *ardhamāsha*, though the other two varieties, *kakāni* and *ardha-kakāni* were not mentioned by *Pāṇini*, they seem to have been current after the days of *Pāṇini*, since they are mentioned by *Kātyāyana*.

A silver punch-marked coin of 20 *māshas* is called *Vimśatika*. Evidently this was a silver coin in use, since we find mention of it in *Sāmantapāsadhika-Buddhaghosha's* commentary on *Vinayapitaka*. *Buddhaghosha* mentions that in the time of *Bimbisara* in the *Rājagṛha* a *kāhapana* was equal to 20 *Māṣakas*. Therefore one *pada* is equal to five *māṣakas*. *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* mentions a *pala* weight to be equal to 4 or 5 *suvarṇas* on the basis of which the *Mitākshara* notes: *Pañchasuvarṇa-pala - pakṣē vimśētmēśah pano bhavati* (*Yaj. Smṛiti*, I, 365) i.e., in the case of a *pala* equalling five *suvarṇas*, the *pala* has a weight of 20 *māshas*.⁵

1. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XX, p. 19.

2. Origin and Early History of Coinage in Ancient India, by A. S. Altekar, J. N. S. I., Vol. XV, pt 1 ff.

3. Ancient coins as known to *Pāṇini*, by V. S. Agrawala; J. N. S. I., Vol. XV, p. 32.

4. J. N. S. I., Vol. VIII, p. 41 and, Vol. XIII, p. 168.

5. Ancient Coins as known to *Pāṇini*, by V. S. Agrawala, J. N. S. I., Vol. XV, p. 32.

As has been alluded to already, the inscriptions found at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa* refer to *Dināri Māṣaka*, i.e. coins in currency during the period of *Ikṣvākus*. Some interesting information about the coin names is available in a *Jain Prakṛit* text '*Angavijja*' which deals with prognostication on the basis of bodily signs and other physical objects.¹ This interesting manuscript has been assigned by the editors to the closing period of *Kuṣānas*, i.e. Circa 3-4th Centuries A.D., and therefore contemporary to the *Ikṣvāku* period at *Nāgārjunakoṇḍa*. It supplies a list of coins names in vogue during that period.

1. *Suvarṇa Māṣaka* (*Suvarṇa Māṣhaka*)
2. *Rayaya Māṣaka* (*Rajata Māṣhaka*)
3. *Dināra Māṣaka* (*Dināra Māṣhaka*)
4. *Nana Māṣaka* (*Nanaka Māṣaka*)
5. *Kahapaṇa* (*Karṣapaṇa*)
6. *Khattapaka* (*Kṣatrapaka*)
7. *Purāṇa* (*Purāṇa*)
8. *Sāteraka* (*Stater*)

Of these, *Dināri Māṣaka* has been identified as a sub-multiple of the standard *Dinarius* coin weighing 121 grains which was the standard adopted by the *Kuṣānas* in imitation of the Roman Aurei.

But the relationship between the *Dināri māṣaka* and the lead coins of *Ikṣvākus*, with regard to their weights and values is again a problem which cannot be satisfactorily solved. Unfortunately though '*Haranyas*' are mentioned in the inscriptions, no gold or silver coin of *Ikṣvākus* has been discovered so far while their lead issues are available in thousands. *Buddhaghōṣa* refers to the existence and use of *Māṣaka* coins of various metals, wood and even lac, but he is silent about their values and weights. The softness of metal used for these coins must have presented considerable difficulty in their handling as well in actual life, besides raising doubts whether they have been backed by any purchasing power.

The occurrence of these coins of cheaper metals like lead, in large numbers can be explained only as suggested by Prof. V.S. Agrawala, that these might have been minted for collecting taxes like *Driṣadi Māṣaka* etc. which were levied and collected on a mass scale in our country, from the time of the *Mauriyas*. The minute size and weight of these coins admirably suited the purpose for such frequent payments collected. It is not unlikely that *Ikṣvākus* also collected taxes per capita, and for that purpose issued this coinage in cheaper metals.

1. '*Angavijja*' 1957, *Prakṛit Text Society*, Benaras-5, edited by Munisri Punyavijaya. A detailed analysis of it with historical notes has been attempted by Dr. Motichandra and V. S. Agrawala.

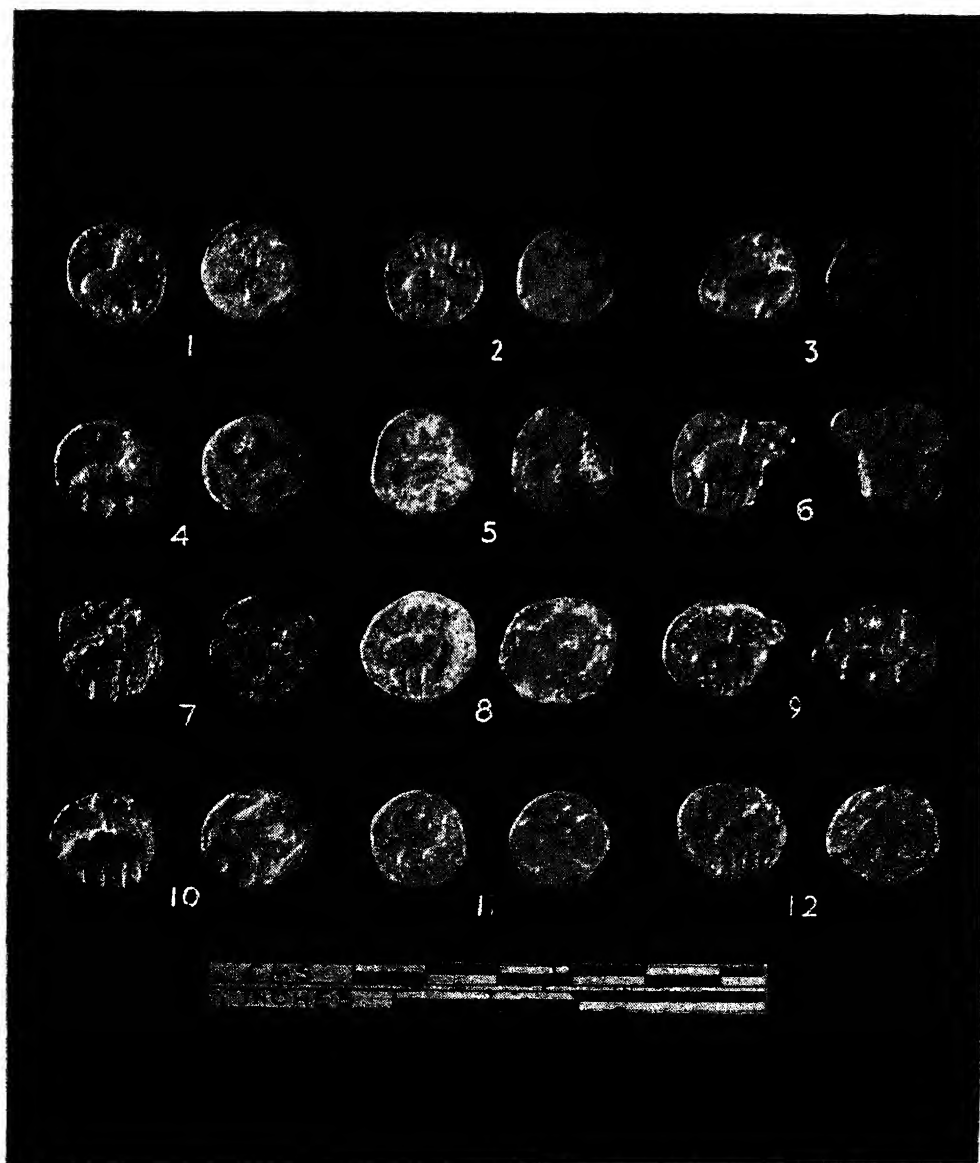
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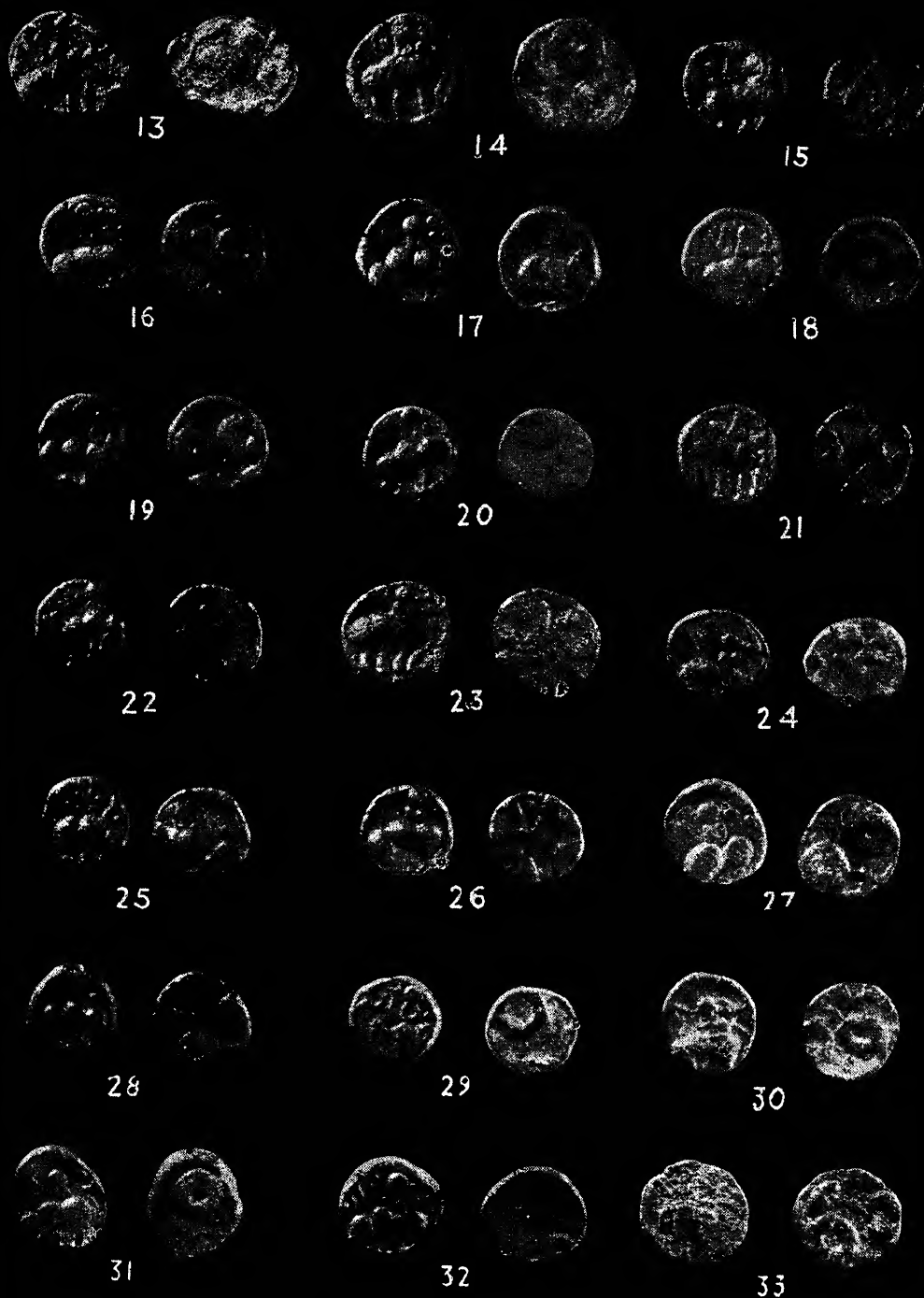
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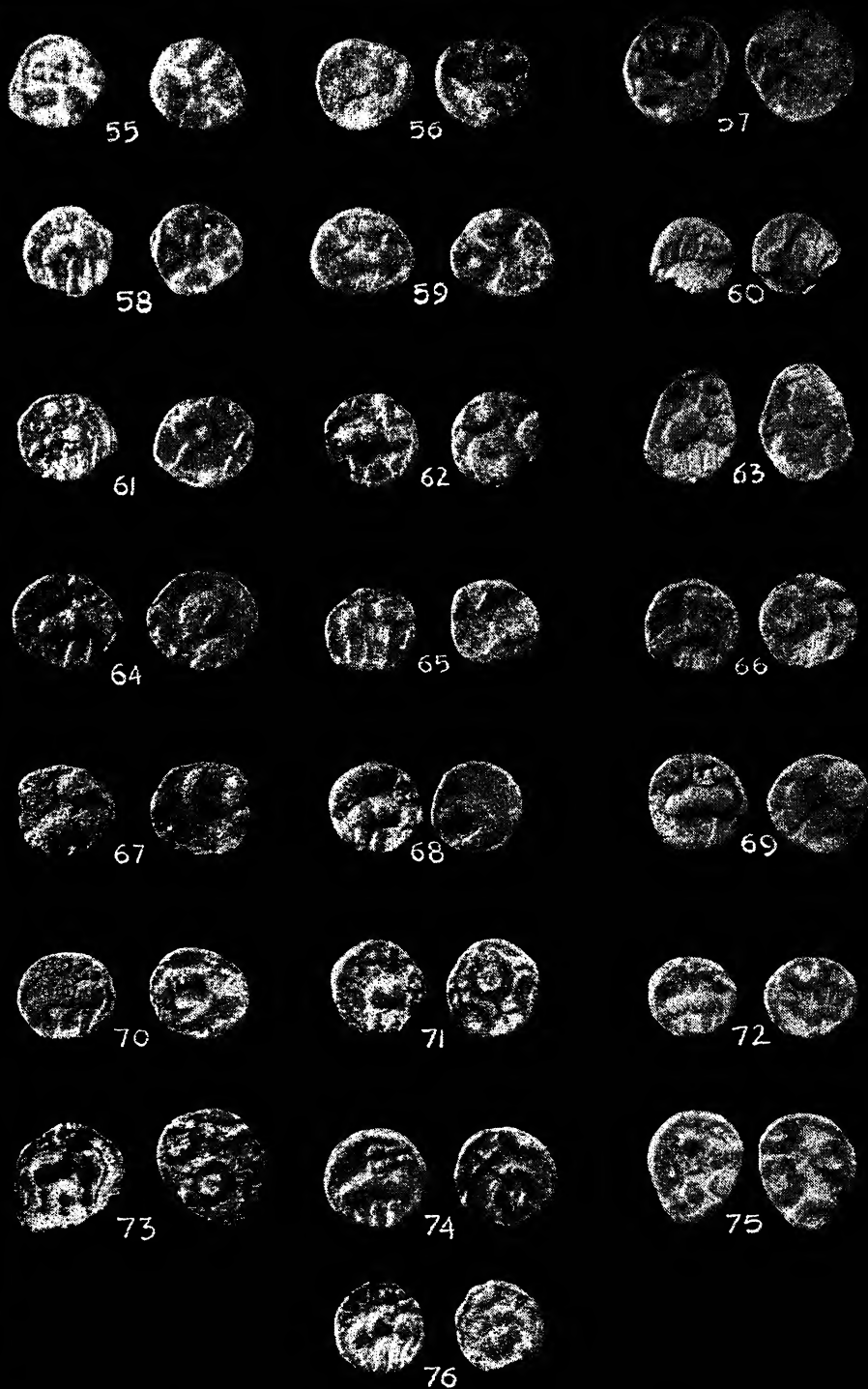
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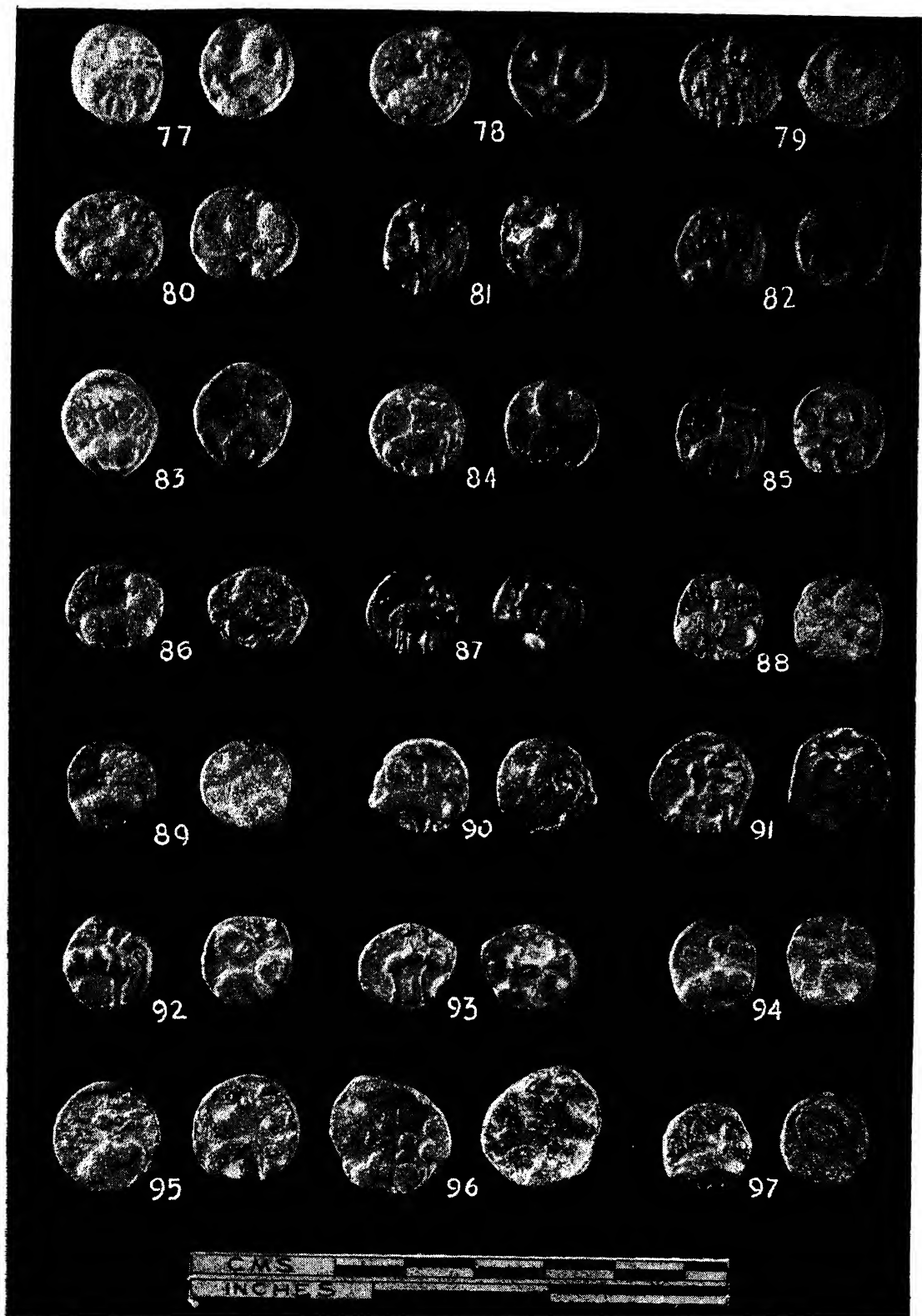
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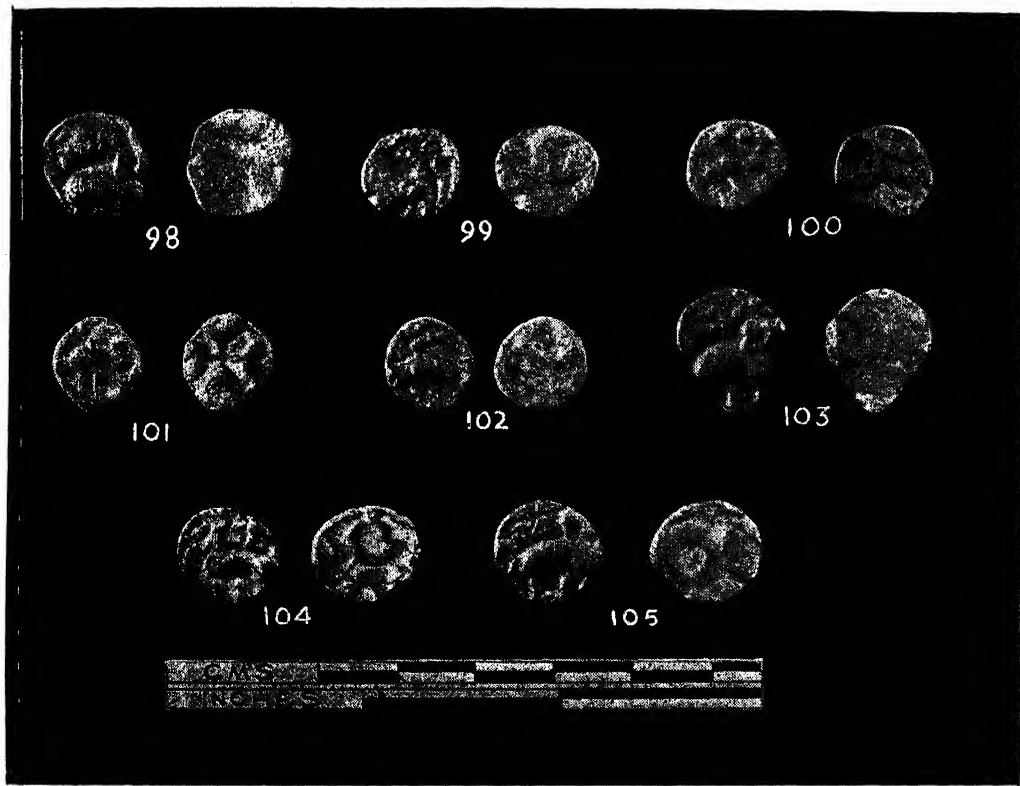


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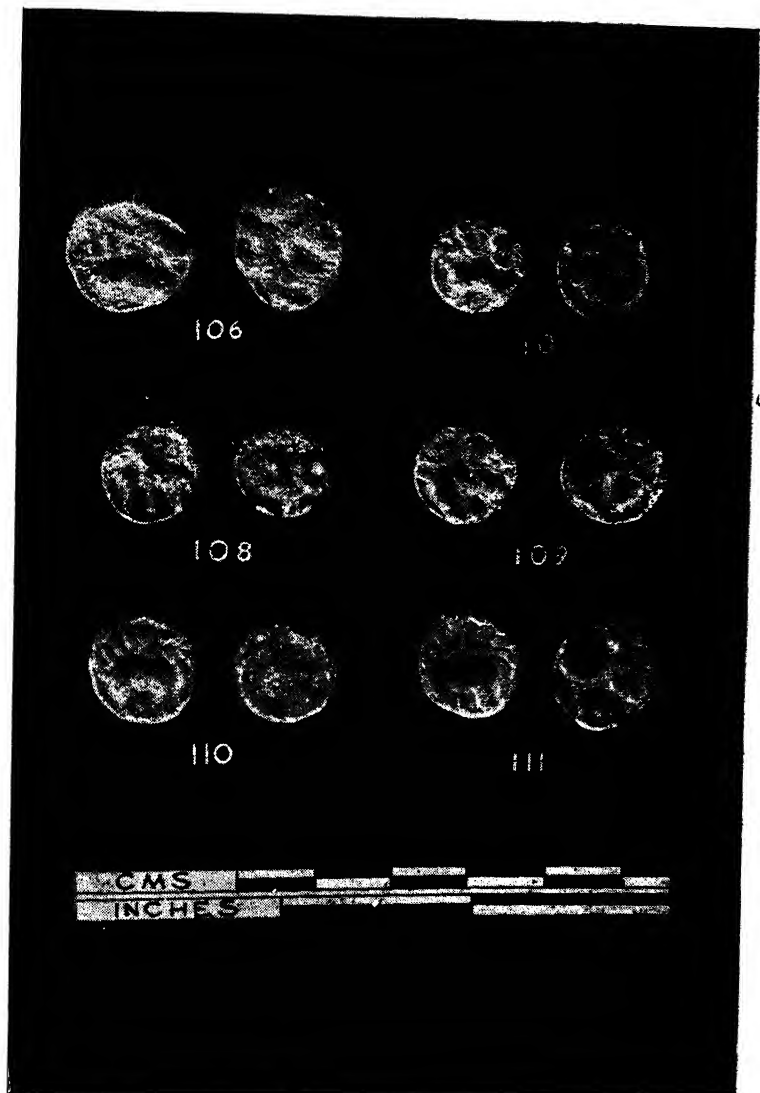


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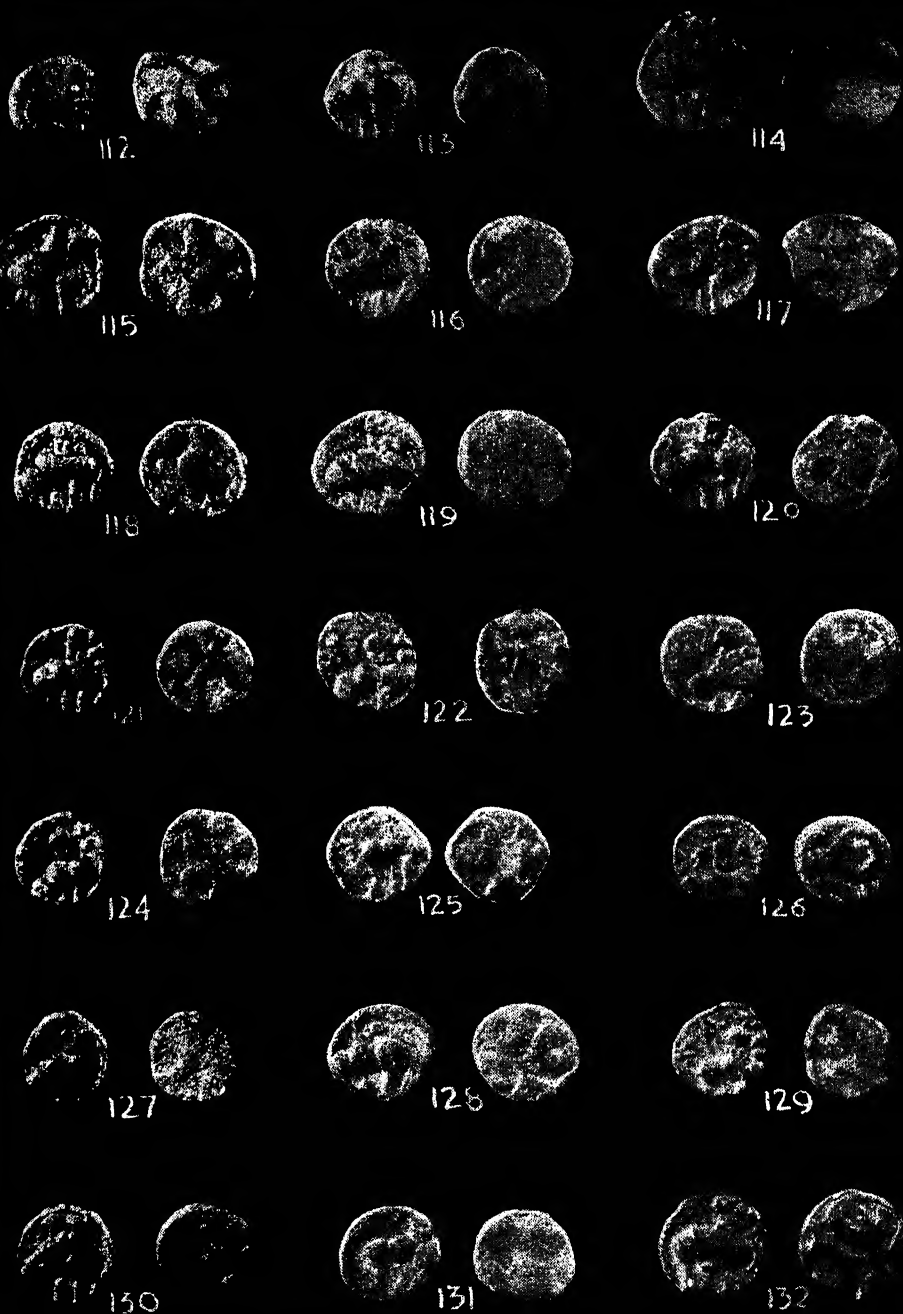
Type III—*Ehavala Chāmtamūla* Coins



Type III—Ehavala Chāmtamūla Coins



Type IV—*Rudraguriṣadatta* Coins





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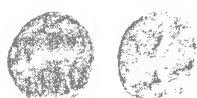
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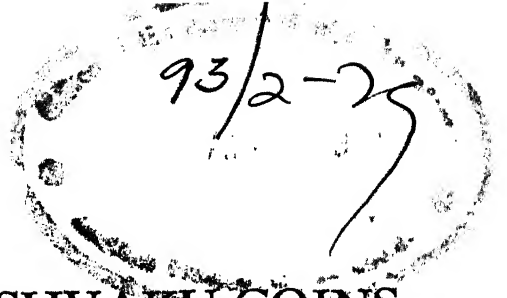
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